HOW EUROPE LOOKS AT DARLAN

A LONDON CABLE BY CLAUDE COCKBURN
... AND BRITAIN'S REACTION TO BEVERIDGE

NEW MASSES

DECEMBER 15, 1942 15c in Canada 20c

THE NAZI IDEA: LOADED SACKS

A FIRST-HAND REPORT FROM THE FRONT
BY MIKHAIL SHOLOKHOV

THE ITALIAN BOOT IS READY

BY MARY TESTA

BOTTLENECK IN SCIENCE

BY HARRY GRUNDFEST

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: **ONE YEAR AFTER PEARL HARBOR: BY STANLEY ISAACS, MEMBER NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL, AND MALCOLM S. MACLEAN, CHAIRMAN OF FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMITTEE. SPOTLIGHT ON THE NAM, BY A. B. MAGIL. HARRY F. WARD REVIEWS EARL BROWDER'S "VICTORY—AND AFTER."**

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WORDS CAN BE BULLETS

On the platform at the magazine's "Words Can Be Bullets" dinner: Dr. Max Yergan (above left), executive director, Council on African Affairs; Harry F. Ward (above, right), who chairmanned the dinner; Vito Marcantonio (below, right), US Congressman from New York; and (below, left to right) Alfred Kreymborg, poet; and Ralph Ellison, managing editor of the "Negro Quarterly."

We know that you who live great distances from New York and who couldn't come to town for our dinner the other night would like to hear a little about it. It was truly one of New Masses' red-letter days. As you know, we introduced our new board of contributing editors; some 650 guests were on hand to welcome them. The 650 were more than guests: they are participants in the life of the magazine and they wanted to see and hear the men and women who will help NM become the "magazine at maximum" we want to make it these war days. You know who these contributing editors are—we introduced them in the magazine several weeks ago and their names will appear regularly on our masthead beginning next week.

Most striking, perhaps, was the turnout and the enthusiasm at the dinner. We actually did not have space for all the folk who wanted to come. As Joseph North said, speaking on behalf of the editors: "We feel a sense of deep pride, and at the same time, deep humility, at this demonstration on behalf of New Masses. Proud, because we know no other magazine in the country could elicit such a turnout; humble, because we recognize the tremendous tasks before us, before all of us—you, our readers, and we, the editors. There is much to do, much more than we have ever done. This great war demands it."

We are sorry, indeed, all of you couldn't have been on hand that evening. It would have done you good to hear Harry F. Ward, chairman of the affair; Cong. Vito Marcantonio, Bella Dodd, Frederick N. Myers, Max Yergan, Alfred Kreymborg, and the other speakers. You would have thrilled with us to hear the voice of R. Palme Dutt come across from Britain. We shall be printing his speech in a forthcoming issue, but for this occasion let us give you his introductory remarks: "I should like to express my gratitude to New Masses," he said, "for the opportunity to speak to my friends in the United States. May I also take the opportunity to pay tribute to New Masses on behalf of its many readers in Britain, and to say how much we value it both for the living closeness with which it brings to us American democratic policies and progressive thought, and for its outstanding role as a journal of international progressive opinion. Today, above all, New Masses with its expanding circulation in Britain, the Dominion, and all English speaking countries, is performing an invaluable role as an international link of the people united in the common struggle against fascism." He said many more things about the obligations of the press, which you'll read in his article.

We want to take this occasion to thank our many friends who came to the dinner, and to transmit their sense of good will and endorsement to you who couldn't come. It is this good will which makes the magazine what it is today, and it is your desire to participate fully in the magazine's life which will help it live up to its great obligations today.

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THE ITALIAN BOOT GETS READY

Demonstrations, sabotage, mutiny—they are more than specters to Il Duce. The opposition within the Fascist Party itself. Will the people of Italy make peace with the United Nations?

NATIONAL suicide under fascism, or an honorable peace with the United Nations which will bring Italy back into the community of democratic nations? Such is the choice facing 40,000,000 Italians today, the choice which Prime Minister Churchill put squarely before them in his speech of November 29. That the Italian people would eventually have to face this alternative was inevitable from the day Mussolini "marched" into Rome in a comfortable pullman car. Now, twenty years later, the choice will be made, but those twenty years will add their terrible toll to the cost.

Rumors are flying thick and fast about the internal situation in Italy. There have been reports that former Chief of Staff Badoglio —a monarchist who has often been named as a leader of the military opposition to Mussolini's pro-Hitler policies—has been arrested with several hundred other officers and dissident fascists because of a plot to overthrow Mussolini. From Berne and Ankara come stories of mutinies and disputes between Italian soldiers and Nazis. While many such stories are without foundation, or at least greatly exaggerated, there is no doubt that events are moving in giant strides and a crisis of the first order is brewing. The turn in the war, Hitler's setbacks on the Russian front, the AEF invasion of Africa coinciding with the advance of the British Eighth Army, the terrific bombardment of Italian cities—all these have intensified the unrest and defeatism characteristic of the Italian state of mind since the beginning of the war.

MUSSOLINI'S defensive reply to Mr. Churchill's speech is revealing in itself. The "strong man" of the Palazzo Venezia broke a silence of eighteen months to promise the Italian people that the Germans would reenforce Italy with "powerful contributions," because the RAF raids on Genoa, Turin, Milan, and Savona exposed the pitiful inadequacy of Italy's air defenses. The balcony emperor tried to frighten Italians with the specter of a peace more humiliating than the Versailles Treaty, although he himself confirmed what has been becoming clearer and clearer to the most unsuspecting Italian —that Italy has become nothing more than a province of the Third Reich. Even his comic attempt to prove that his role in the Axis is that of an independent collaborator, rather than Hitler's puppet, betrays the depth of the disillusionment among the Italian people.

Italy's vassalage to Germany accounts for the inclusive character of the opposition to Mussolini and the war. That, coupled with the disastrous economic situation, the series of inglorious military defeats and the danger that the Italian peninsula may become Hitler's next theater of active military operations, is having the effect of rallying large sections of the population around the slogan of a separate peace which they realize can only be won if Mussolini and his regime are destroyed by the Italian people themselves.

It must be remembered that when fascism came to power in Italy twenty years ago, it sought to base itself on the broadest social foundations, to imprison the Italian people in its organizations, and instill in them its ideology in order to make them the instruments of its imperialist policies. This process was represented as one of national regeneration; for the supreme good of the nation Italians must forego their freedom, suffer hunger and privation, their wages slashed, their property confiscated, their small businesses doomed to bankruptcy.

But after the tragic experience of two and a half years of this war of fascist aggression, the mirage which Italian fascism held out to the people—empire, wealth, a great name—has faded away, never to return. Instead there is bondage to Berlin. Italians of every political and social belief—even among many fascists themselves—have become aware of the overwhelming completeness of the catastrophe.

This contradiction was bound to cause a violent explosion in the whole social structure. Every institution has felt the shock, first of all the regime and the fascist state apparatus itself, which has been directly responsible for the disaster overtaking the country. The monarchy has felt it and the High Command of the Army and even the Vatican. These groups are beginning to understand that the moment has come to break away from the fascist regime in order not to share in the responsibility for the present crisis.

THUS a real national front, extending from elements among Catholics, monarchists, and high military circles to the established underground anti-fascist parties, is in the process of formation in Italy. And it is this all-embracing unity around a common struggle which will save the country. The unity of the Italian nation which fascism has tried for twenty years to achieve under its hegemony is being achieved today *against* fascism.

Last May the Committee of Action for the Union of the Italian People, including representatives of the underground Communist, and Socialist Parties of Italy and of the "Justice and Liberty" (liberal) groups, launched the movement for a separate peace with the United Nations. A manifesto declared that the "hour for action has struck" and urged the formation of united "Committees of Action" in all centers to direct and develop the anti-fascist battle. The manifesto called for greater sabotage, open resistance against the Nazi invaders, refusal of the peasants to turn their products over to the requisitioning authorities (both German and Italian). It called upon the soldiers and sailors to desert and mutiny, in the name of a Free Italy.

Italian prisoners captured by the British in Egypt.

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Armed resistance against the Nazis and fascists broke out in Gorizia, near the Yugoslav border, last spring. These armed partisan bands not only helped the Yugoslav guerrillas, but raided the fascist militia and killed several fascist officials. Many were caught, tried, and sentenced to death but the fighting continues and spreads. In this same region, recently, an Alpine regiment ordered to the Eastern Front mutinied.

Partisan activity has moved at a quick pace in Sicily since the American invasion of North Africa. In the vicinity of Messina alone, partisans killed fifty Germans in a few days. Martial law has been proclaimed in a number of cities and mass arrests have taken place. Black Shirt detachments in the cities are vested with the right to use their guns without warning.

Sabotage in vital industrial sectors increases. Peasants in South Italy, especially in Sicily, have even driven requisitioning agents from their villages. Disaffection has spread to the youth, long considered the mainstay of the fascist regime. More than 1,000 university students were arrested (according to the fascist press itself) and the University of Rome closed for a few days because of anti-war demonstrations. Several months ago, at this same university, a call was sent out for volunteers for the Eastern Front. Only fifteen students enlisted. In Rome Italian boys of seventeen and eighteen marched past the barracks of a regiment leaving for the Eastern Front and when representatives of the Fascist Party and the High Command appeared, the boys greeted them with cries of: "We want peace! Down with war! Down with Mussolini!" A large crowd gathered and a company of blackshirts, summoned to the spot, refused to fire on the crowd. Regular troops arrested twenty demonstrators, among them eight women.

BUT it is the opposition within the Fascist Party itself which is most indicative of the trend of events in Italy. Last September the fascist press reported the expulsion of 66,000 party members for "refusal to do military service," "refusal to join the fascist militia," and "lack of interest in party affairs." Since then hundreds of other members have been expelled and the purge has reached into high party circles and into the state apparatus.

Next came the removal of thirty-six police prefects in various agricultural provinces. The police have the task of enforcing Fascist Party decisions and they are the directing force of the Fascist Federations in the hinterland. The thirty-six prefects were replaced by fascists in whom Mussolini could have "more confidence," according to the press reports.

While the fascist opposition within the Fascist Party itself is in large measure against the democratic tendencies of the anti-fascist opposition, nevertheless it is an extremely important factor in the shifting relationship of forces within Italy. This fascist opposition is still legal and is at the center of the Fascist Party and the mass organizations. It demands a change in policy both in foreign and domestic affairs and in this sense it helps considerably to weaken Mussolini's position.

THIS, then, is the picture of the Italy which heard Mr. Churchill's warning and appeal, this is the Italy which recently heard from Assistant Secretary of State Berle, and Mayor LaGuardia. Their appeals to all that is democratic and great in the Italian tradition, their call upon Italian patriots to save their country while there is yet time, will not fall upon deaf ears.

Americans can do many things that will help Italians decide their fate much sooner. What kind of peace will we offer the martyred Italian nation? Will Americans do everything to help Italians destroy Mussolini and the entire fascist regime? And will we help prevent at all cost the restoration of other fascist puppets? There has already been talk in certain American newspapers of doing business with Italian quislings. We cannot for a moment overlook the fact that only military action either in France or Italy, or both, will sever Berlin from Rome and create the conditions in which the Italian people will map their own destiny. Allied diplomacy will be of assistance, but an offensive in Europe is decisive. Fascism of itself will not fall like a house of cards.

MARY TESTA.

Michaels

News dispatches report that Mussolini is suffering from a stomach ailment.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

WHERE HITLER STANDS IN RUSSIA

What's happening in the Stalingrad bag. The daring plan which most military analysts didn't grasp. Thunder on the Central Front. . . . Perspectives in Tunisia and the Pacific.

MY ANALYSIS of the situation on the battlefronts which appeared in the December 1 issue of NEW MASSES was caught off balance by the ever-present and thrice accursed deadline. The trouble is that it takes several days to make up and print the magazine and it takes another several days for the Soviet High Command to announce its military successes. And so, between the operational hammer and the editorial anvil, the unfortunate military reviewer is often completely squashed.

On November 24 the Soviet High Command announced that a large scale Red Army offensive had been raging for five days before Stalingrad. The Soviet score for the first week was as follows:

Sixty-three thousand prisoners were taken by the Red Army, which also captured 1,863 guns, 3,851 machine guns, 50,000 rifles, 1,320 tanks, 9,000 horses, and 108 dumps of various types and categories (food, fuel, ammunition, etc.). More than 50,000 Germans were killed—which means that with the prisoners and the probable wounded, the enemy in one week at Stalingrad alone had lost some 200,000 men in battle.

The score of trophies is very impressive, so impressive that it compares favorably with the score of the Moscow offensive of December 1941. Here are a few figures for the first *five days* of both operations.

	Moscow 1941	Stalingrad 1942
Enemy killed	30,000	50,000
Prisoners	very few	36,000
Captured guns	397	1,164
Captured tanks	457*	431**
Captured and destroyed trucks	4,800	3,940**
Captured horses	very few	5,000

* Including those destroyed. ** Captured only.

The number of men and amount of materiel captured at Stalingrad, in comparison with the figures of the Moscow operation, underscore the difference between the two great battles. While at Moscow the Red Army was simply pushing and bending back a pair of great pincers which were closing about the capital, at Stalingrad the Red Army created pincers itself. Hence the score of captured men and materiel.

THE operation started on November 19 and has now been developing for seventeen days. Its primary objective was to encircle and annihilate the entire German-fascist shock army standing before Stalingrad and battering at the city's defenses for exactly eighty-eight days. It was estimated that this shock army consisted of about 300,000 men. The fact that some 200,000 enemy troops have been put *hors de combat* to date does not mean that the encircled army has already been reduced to only 100,000. A good portion of the fighting has been and is being done against troops attacking the ring of the Red Army *from the outside,* and trying to relieve the plight of those inside the trap.

The first Soviet breakthrough was made across the Don in a southerly direction from Serafimovich. So daring and unusual was the plan that most military analysts did not grasp it. The Red Army column forced the crossing of the Don in a southerly direction, reached Chernyshevskaya, and then whipped back southeastward to recross the Don near Kalach and take the railroad junction of Sovietsk, lying on the Stalingrad-Likhaya central railroad. (This line bisects the Don loop and runs from Stalingrad almost due west.)

If you follow the march of this Soviet column you will see that its route resembles the trajectory of a boomerang. The wide arc of the column created the first area of encirclement inside the loop of the Don and, furthermore, began pressing the German troops along the Don *against* the mincing machine of Stalingrad, much as a cook feeds meat into the grinder with the pressure of his fingers. Incidentally the plan, in a miniature way, bears the earmark of the famous Schlieffen plan, which envisaged the same sort of boomerang sweep by the German armies into France in 1914, ending with crushing the French armies against their own fortifications of the southern part of the eastern border (the Rhine).

This first thrust actually pushed the fascist troops which were concentrated inside the loop of the Don into the triangle formed by the eastern stretch of the Don and the two railroads running northwest and west of Stalingrad, i.e., into the easternmost corner of the encirclement area. Several days later the loop of

Whitelaw in the London "Daily Herald"

"It's getting late, Adolph."

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the Don was almost cleared inside by the capture of the stronghold of Kletskaya, where battles had raged ever since the middle of August. Simultaneously another Soviet thrust developed south of Stalingrad. Red Army troops, in spite of the flow of ice in the Volga, had been ferried across from the eastern bank, had amassed and concentrated east of the Ergehni Hills which stretch from Stalingrad southward into the Kalwyk steppe. These troops broke through the German right flank before Stalingrad and cut the railroad running from Stalingrad to Tikhoretsk and Novorossisk at Abganerovo.

Thus both railroads feeding the German army at Stalingrad were cut during the first two days of the offensive. Another sack was formed, this one between the Don and the above-named railroad. Finally a third Soviet column broke through the defenses of the famous "bolt" position between the Volga and Don north and northwest of Stalingrad and knifed in a southwesterly direction, along the left bank of the Don, in the general direction of the railroad center of Kalach which had already been captured by the Red Army. This action initiated the slicing of the surrounded fascist armies into smaller parts.

At this writing the avenue of escape of the surrounded enemy troops has been greatly narrowed—from fifty to about twenty miles. The enemy is counter-attacking both from within the ring of encirclement, and from without it, with reserves brought up from Rostov. Some of the surrounded and isolated troops are being supplied by transport plane, but these planes are being shot down by Soviet fighters and AA artillery in large numbers.

The situation at present is such that no spectacular advances by the Red Army can be expected on the Stalingrad front for some time because the job at hand is to destroy the troops that are confined within the two sacks. The total area of the encirclement is almost 10,000 square miles of heavily fortified ground, garrisoned by at least 200,000 men. The job of reducing such a force is not easy. The Red Army, like a huge boa constrictor, must digest what it has bitten off.

ABOUT six days after the beginning of the Stalingrad offensive, the Red Army attacked on the Central Front. It stabbed powerfully at the strongest fortified area of the German "winter-front"—in the Velikye Luki-Novosokolniki-Nevel triangle—and cut both railroads running out of Velikye Luki westward and southwestward. Simultaneously operations against the great German stronghold of Rzhev were started and this city was isolated by cutting the last remaining railroad, the one running south to Vyazma.

The fighting here is tough and hard, because Soviet troops have to operate in a maze of German permanent fortifications which had been worked upon by the enemy during a whole year, and more. The central offensive is a good "twin" for the Stalingrad offensive because it aims to cut off the other great German salient around Smolensk.

The developments of the last two weeks have shown, among other things, that while the Nazis this year were able to take the offensive only on one front, the Red Army is able to take the offensive on two fronts simultaneously. The progress of the offensive also shows that the Red Army is better prepared than it was last year and that its offensive power generally has been increased, in training, in numbers, and in weapons. This is the most hopeful sign in the developments of this global war.

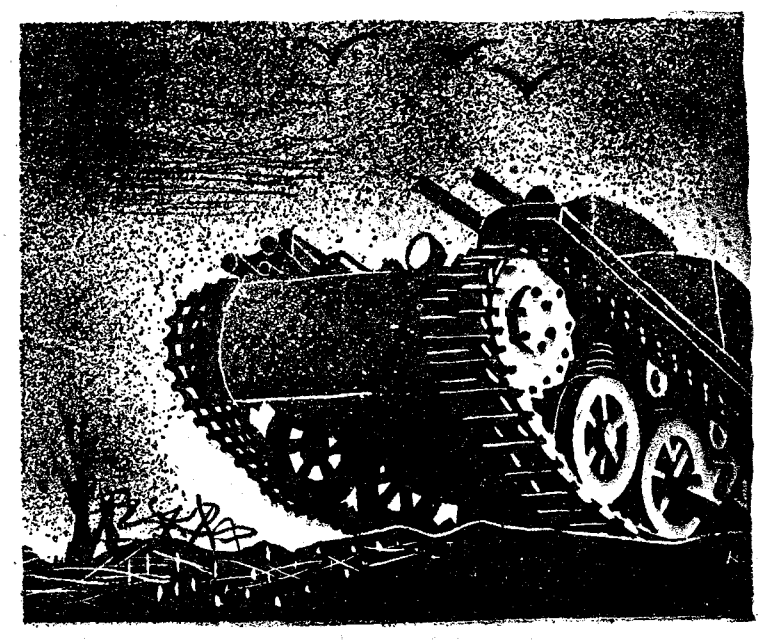
THE Allied offensive in Tunisia is stalled. The stab to cut Tunis off from Bizerte and to cut both off from Tripolitania has not materialized. The real reason for that seems to be that the Allied troops are green and cannot right off the bat carry out a major offensive against the seasoned veterans of the *Wehrmacht*. It will take a little time to break them in. Another reason for the delay, caused by the setback at Meteur, Djedeida, and Tabourba, is that our side does not seem to have any airdromes close enough to the battlelines to use fighters. General Eisenhower has plenty of fighters, but no "roost" for them. These will have to be built out of difficult terrain.

On the other hand, General Montgomery stands before the El Agheila line and does not risk attacking it because a good part of Rommel's forces have escaped him and his lines of communications are too long to permit him to chance a grand assault on a strong position.

Therefore, it may be said generally that a period of about a month of comparative inactivity on land can be expected on the African front. In any case the developments of the first month of the campaign, which has gone well only up to the point of debarkation, make it impossible that an invasion of southern Europe from Africa can start before well into the spring or summer. There is no use kidding ourselves about it. The Red Army will have to carry the ball for another winter (with Hanson W. Baldwin's kind permission).

On New Guinea our troops continue to pound at Buna and Gona, but generally speaking nothing spectacular is taking place.

The Eastern Front remains, as before, the most important and most decisive sector of the war. The center of gravity of world combat has not shifted from there to Africa. That much is clear.



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LOADED SACKS—THE NAZI IDEA

Mikhail Sholokhov continues the series he began in "The Science of Hatred." Illustrated by William Gropper.

FROM behind the smoking, somber pyramids of the slag-banks the sun is rising. With astonishing swiftness the violet shadows on the snow grow pale. Then the roofs of the miners' dwellings, the windows fluffed with rime, the frosted boughs of the wayside maples, and the far-away snow-clad hilltops—all flame at once into dazzling rose color. The glare from the well-worn, polished road becomes still brighter.

East to west stretch the black columns of people moving along the highway. A few men in the rear of one of the columns slacken their pace to roll some cigarettes and light up.

"Who are all these people?" my companion asks. "Are you going on defense work, by any chance?"

A man in a greasy, padded jacket inhales with evident satisfaction the smoke of the coarse, home-grown tobacco before he replies: "The masters of the Don coal fields—that's who we are, and we're off now to put the flooded and blown-up pits in order. See?"

Then the stragglers run to catch up with the rest, and once again, in the clear frosty air, their footsteps merge with the ringing measured tread of hundreds of others like themselves, the real masters of the Don coal fields, on their way to restore the ruined coal pits.

There are old folk and midde-aged folk and very young folk in the ranks. And if the worker bowed with age but returning to his job seems the embodiment of the Don coal fields' past, then the middle-aged and the striplings stand for the present and the future. But the flower of the coal fields' youth will not be found among these marching men: the young and able are far away in the West with the innumerable units of the Red Army, fighting for the liberation of their great country.

THE rumbling of the Italian big guns is answered by our artillery. The battle, which has gone on all night long, starts with renewed force at daybreak. The German and Italian units in the Don coal fields' area defend themselves with the fury of despair. It is hard for them to leave the warm houses, to take leave of places so rich in fuel, and flee into the white steppe where the low-blowing snow blizzard hisses and the wild blast sears like flame, piercing to the bone. Yet flee they must. The thrusts of our troops force them more and more frequently to change their quarters; leaving arms and equipment on the roads, they hastily retreat westward.

On the southern front more than on any other perhaps, the polyglot nature of the fascist soldiery is most widely represented. Whom will you not find in the contingents of war prisoners brought in by our men? Germans, Italians, and Rumanians prevail in this scum of disarmed cut-throats who until recently worked their will on the peaceable population of the Ukraine;

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but there are Finns and Hungarians among them, too. Pushkin's words truly apply to them:

Of faces and dress what a jumble,
Of dialects, tribes and conditions,
From jail, cell and cottage humble—
Drawn here by their "grabbing" ambitions!

It is precisely plunder and robbery that has brought this flock of rogues and hangmen together under the black banner with the crooked fascist swastika. It might have been of these thieves, incendiaries, and murderers, who with their glum spirit of man-hating have turned our flourishing regions into "waste lands," that Pushkin said:

. . . Hazard, blood, debauch and fraud—
The links their dreadful kindred bind;
Theirs is he who with heart of stone
Has passed through guilt of every kind
Who slays with cool and steady hand
The weak who may not him withstand,
Who makes of infants' moans a jest,
Who ne'er forgives, nor ever spares,
And like to youth at love's behest,
To foulest deeds with joy repairs.

In capitivity they undergo, outwardly at least, a striking alteration. See them crowding together in the big room, shivering and blowing on their fingers to warm them. Their unshaven faces are dirty and dull, their eyes hold an expression of sadness that resembles something almost human. The long-unwashed bodies and filthy uniforms give off a heavy, pungent canine odor. The cock's feathers on the helmets of the Italian *bersaglieri* are pitifully bedraggled now. Gone with the wind is the grooming and swagger of these Germans who have grown scuffy in the trenches. An Italian officer wearing woolen stockings stripped off from some collective farm woman holds out his hand humbly for a cigarette and mumbles haltingly that he has not had a smoke for fifty days.

That is how they look here. But let us hear from someone who saw them in very different circumstances. Old Kolesnichenko, a collective farmer who only recently escaped from the fascists' clutches, has a habit of raising his hand to the collar of his worn shirt as though even that easy-fitting band chokes him. And he tells us, taking his time over the story:

". . . Evening was coming on when a number of their motorcyclists whisked through the village. Then six tanks came by, and after these the infantry—the latter in lorries and on foot. By nightfall a special unit was quartered on us; each of the soldiers had black lightnings painted on the sides of his helmet and looked the very devil. . . .

"Then it started—and it turns one sick and bitter to think of it. They drove a lot of our lasses into the schoolhouse, some of them were literally dragged through the snow. After they'd flouted and ill-treated the girls all they wanted, they murdered three of them—Martha Solokhina, Dunyasha Pilipenko, and a young married woman from the next village. Killed them here in the schoolhouse, pulled the bodies out into the yard and piled them by the steps, one on top of the other, crosswise.

"All through that night the Germans were prowling about our yard, butchering the fowls and the cattle, and making the women cook for them. They went through every trunk and pantry and store-room. . . . And to hear the cattle bellowing, the dogs howling, and the girls wailing for the dead—you'd think the whole place was on fire. It was awful to go out even in the yard with a din like that going on, believe me!

"It quieted down a bit toward morning, and at daybreak I went outside my gate. The first thing I see is my neighbor Trofim Bidyuzhny stretched out by the well and the bucket lying beside him. He'd been killed because he went out for a bucket of water; by German laws civilians aren't allowed out even for ordinary needs at night-time. Next morning they shot a youngster of twelve. It seems he'd gone up to have a look at one of their motor bikes—you know how keen boys are on anything like that. A German standing on the steps of the house fired his revolver at the boy. They wouldn't even let us bury our dead. Think what the mother felt seeing her boy lying there! She looked out of the window—he was lying by the barn with the snow drifting over him—and after just one glance she fell to the ground like dead. I saw the dead child when they drove us out to the assembly. I had to go past the house, and I saw him . . . the little kid twisted up and frozen to the ground. The murdered girls were lying outside the schoolhouse with their skirts pulled over their heads and tied with telephone wire, and their legs all in bruises. Anyone who had to pass the schoolhouse went round and kept at a distance. The corpses were only taken up and buried after that unit had left the village."

Absently, the old man took the proffered cigarette and twirled it in his fingers. After a short silence he went on.

"Four of them were quartered on us. The first day they killed the farrow-sow and two sheep. Part of the meat they gobbled up right there on the spot, the rest they took with them, the sheepskins as well. From early morning they were rummaging about in the trunks and the pantry, and picking out whatever suited them. They took a deal of stuff away with them, and on the last day they got round to my felt boots. Already dressed for the march they were, they'd started the engines of the lorries and everything, when a big chap with braid on his sleeve pointed to my boots and made a sign that I was to take them off. They were the last things I had to put on my feet, so I begged him not to take them. At that this blackguard with the braid went white with rage, grabbed his rifle, and pressed the point of the bayonet to my throat. He shouted at me—what, I don't know—and my old woman started crying and wailing: 'Take them off quick, before he kills you!'

"I was in a fright, and kept silent, and I just couldn't bend down. 'I'm done for now,' I thought to myself. Then the

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German gave me such a kick in the belly that I fell down on the bench and couldn't catch my breath. I kept opening my mouth as if I was yawning, but I couldn't draw a breath, and everything went dark in my eyes. . . . But my old woman hopped up to me quick as any young one, pulled off my boots, and held them out to the German. He was getting ready for another attack and I suppose he was going to slay me, but when he saw the things he had taken a fancy to in my old woman's hands, he thought better of it. He took them, spat in my face, and started to put them on. The three men with him were standing in the doorway, laughing. The big fellow got into my felt boots, stuck his own boots into his sack, and gave a nasty, crooked kind of sneer as he went out ahead of the others.

"Well, we got rid of that lot, and after a while another unit came along and acted in the same fashion. In a few days the village was picked clean.

"A nice sort of army, that!" exclaimed the young lieutenant with the cheerful, freckled face, who had been listening to the conversation.

"Army, indeed! They haven't any army," the old man said sternly. "They may have had one once, but they've certainly not got it now. Leastways, I haven't seen anything of it. I've been in the army myself in my time. I was in the Russo-Japanese war, and I fought the fathers of these Germans, too. I think I know the way things ought to be in the army, but the like of this I've never seen.

"Who ever heard in those days of soldiers being allowed to rob civilians and carry sacks of loot about with them? I'm not going to say we weren't tempted by eatables when we found them, but I'm sure we never touched baby's diapers or dragged the last pair of boots off old folks' feet, or made war on little children, or slaughtered women. But these Germans aren't forbidden anything these days, they can do anything that enters their minds. Then, too, an army should be in uniform. And how are they dressed? Here's one in an army overcoat, another in a sheepskin jacket taken off my neighbor's back, a third in a woman's grey blanket-cloth coat worn over his uniform. . . . Of course they all have guns, but if it comes to that, so did the evil fellows who used to haunt the highways and waylay people.

"So I had different lots of lodgers in my house: one day one party, next day—another, and all from different countries. 'I'm a Pole,' one would tell you. 'I'm Hungarian,' another would say. The third mightn't say anything, but you could tell for certain by his stealthy eye that he was a rogue, that is to say a Nazi. . . . Well, I never believed those who called themselves one thing and another. 'You're lying,' I thought to myself, 'curse the lot of you! There's nothing of the Pole or the Hungarian about you. If you were a Pole, you'd fight for your own Poland, and if you were a Hungarian—for your own Hungary. But you're as like as toadstools growing on the same dunghill, breathing the same stink. . . .'

"I saw the following thing, for instance. A German NCO came into the house and gabbled something to one of these soldiers who calls himself a Hungarian. And the Hungarian, as I could plainly see, can't make out a single word, but just shrugs his shoulders and spreads out his hands, with the silliest look in his eyes you ever saw. Then the Hungarian starts to talk in his own lingo, and it's the NCO's turn to shrug and twitch, and he gets so mad that even his cheeks flush.

"They stand there ready to butt one another like a couple of rams, each of them gabbling in his own tongue and neither able to understand the other. That's the way it is with them, they haven't got a common tongue till it comes to robbery, and then you'll find they all talk the same: give us bread, eggs, milk, potatoes; or else—'kaput,' they say, and either brandish their bayonets or rattle a box of matches threatening to set your house on fire. Talk about an army! What sort of an army can that be where

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all of them look as if they'd just been let out of the same prison?"

IT WAS a frosty night. A fine hot coal fire was burning in the stove. The old man took his worn overcoat from the head of the bed and, grunting, started to put it on. With his arms half in and half out of the sleeves, he repeated stubbornly once more:

"They haven't any army. I'm telling you that, believe me."

It was then that in a staid, respectful manner, the lieutenant said:

"You're right, of course, but they have their own idea, too, that they're fighting for."

The old man paused in the act of thrusting his arms into the sleeves, and then, as though recovering from his astonishment, demanded sternly:

"What idea can you be talking about? They haven't any idea, and I don't think it's the proper word to use about them."

"They have an idea still," the lieutenant insisted, attempting to hide the smile which was lurking in his eyes.

Sitting down on the bed, the old man peered into the lieutenant's face. His reddish, grizzled brows were knitted and his tone was official and rather cutting.

"Perhaps," he said, "you'll kindly explain this idea of theirs to me, comrade commander, because I'm a man of very little schooling and maybe I haven't understood the word. . . ."

"Don't get angry," the lieutenant said conciliatingly. "Their idea is exactly as you've told us in your story. About five days ago we surrounded a baggage train of theirs—over thirty cars. The Germans lay down by them and opened fire. It was all up with them, they had no chance, but they weren't giving in. Alongside me lay a young fellow who had just come out with reenforcements. When he saw how determined the Germans seemed to defend themselves, he said: 'It would seem that these fascists are fighting for an idea of some kind, comrade lieutenant. Look—they don't want to give in.' 'Just wait till we've killed them,' I said, 'and then we'll see what kind of an idea theirs is.'

"Well, we wiped them out neatly and then started to look through the bales and bundles. The baggage train was going home, and I don't need to tell you what they send home besides wounded. We ripped open one big bundle; it was full of children's shoes, cotton dress-lengths and other materials, women's coats—some of fur, some of the lighter kind—bags of millet, galoshes, and all sorts of stuff. We looked in another sack and found much the same thing. Then I called the boy who had suspected the Germans of fighting for an idea, and said to him: 'Do you see what they've got here in these sacks?' He said: 'Yes, I can see.' 'Well, now, you're looking at the whole idea they're fighting for,' I told him. 'And you can stuff this idea of theirs into a sack, and it'll have a calico lining. Understand?' 'Oh, now, I see what they're up to,' he said, and laughed."

THE old man had been listening attentively to the lieutenant, but when he spoke there was undisguised superiority in his voice.

"This isn't the right kind of talk, sonny, even though you are a commander. You don't know what an idea is. Now let me explain it to you. The chairman of our collective farm, Ivan Cherepitsa, would say for example: 'I've got an idea it would be a good thing to bank up the weir at Sukhaya Balka and breed carp in the pond.' The village took up the idea, carried it out, and the result was that just before the war we got a ton-and-a-half of carp for the market, without counting all that went to the dining rooms.

"Another time he'd say: 'Well, citizens, how about building a mill with a turbine?' It wasn't very long before the mill was ready. Folks from the nearest collective farms used to bring their grain to us to grind. Then again, there was an idea in starting bee-keeping, and buying Silesian-breed sheep, and plenty of other things that are good on a farm.

"Now you see what we mean by an idea? It means, my lad, something which benefits the people. And here you go hitching the word on to highway robbery. You should call things by their proper names—robbery is robbery, and that's what it's commonly known for. Do the Germans rob us? They don't ever miss a chance, do they? That means that the very word 'idea' is far beyond them, and you can't utter it anywhere in connection with them, lest it get soiled from the neighborhood of these blackguards. You young folks haven't come yet to a full understanding of many things in life. And believe me—what I'm telling you is right."

THE enemy is still fighting fiercely, and even mentions a spring offensive, but when spring comes round those who will be doing the fighting are not the Germans who trampled our land last year. Those lost color, faded hopelessly when they felt the devastating blow of the Red Army. A prisoner of war, Lance Corp. Wilhelm Woitzik, of No. 3 Company of the 160th Snipers' Battalion of the 60th Motor Division, says: "The words 'home' and 'back to Germany' have become a sort of parole with the soldiers."

When asked to give the salient points of the reservists called up in his battalion, this by no means unobservant corporal replied: "The soldiers of the fresh contingents have one new feature: they are always silent and they smoke a lot."

Quite a curious trait! Well, let us see what kind of an offensive the enemy will manage with reservists of this kind.

MIKHAIL SHOLOKHOV.

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THE WEEK in LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBURN

THE ILLNESS OF DARLAMNESIA

How the British people regard the employment of "rats against their masters." The feeling of the European underground. . . . The significance of the Beveridge report.

London (by wireless).

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL'S recent speech analyzing the war situation from the government's viewpoint is regarded here as highly encouraging evidence of a growing awareness that a swift development of the offensive, aiming at the European mainland, is urgent. Within the past two weeks some doubt had been cast on this subject by the publication of certain articles in a section of the British press. These articles seemed to suggest the perspective of an indefinite pause in land operations following a successful cleanup of North Africa, with concentration on the old "long-term bombing program" of Germany. Articles in this vein by the Sunday *Times'* air correspondent, who is generally supposed to reflect the views of the Bomber Command, could naturally be interpreted as an important indication that certain influential quarters were taking this "long-term" viewpoint. The first reactions to Churchill's speech are that possibly there was such a movement in some official quarters, that these influences have now been publicly rebuked, and the Prime Minister has vigorously aligned himself with those who see the urgency of the situation—who realize that the gigantic resources of Nazi-occupied Europe could be organized most dangerously during the winter if Hitler were given time.

Turning from official to unofficial circles—there's no doubt that even before the African offensive was launched there were more or less influential right wing elements here who were anxious that the African offensive be regarded solely as a means of clearing the Mediterranean and strengthening British positions in the Middle and Far East. They were alarmed by the prospect that the African offensive would develop into that second front on the continent of Europe which they had so long and so bitterly opposed. Now that the Prime Minister has officially explained how urgent the situation is, it becomes more important than ever that the "third front" inside Europe should be developed in the most practical manner possible. In regard to this front it would be absurd to deny that Darlanism has already had very serious results. Dr. Shubert Ripka, minister of the Czechoslovak government, which has particularly good information from Europe, told me this week how grave that situation is—as evidenced by news reaching London from Czechoslovakia itself and from other occupied countries. Masaryk, of the Czech government-in-exile, already has publicly described how, upon the news of Darlan's rise to fame and power on the Allied side, two "rats" from collaborationist circles in Prague had attempted to enter into negotiations along the same lines. And it appears that quislings in many parts of Europe, dreaming of a white Christmas after all, hope that in regard to their past crimes the Allies will be afflicted with what may be called Darlamnesia. In every European country there are people on the quisling side who, as they contemplate the sprouting of green bay trees in the soil of Algeria, are listening in their heads to the tune "Why Can't It Happen to Me?"

Now of course no sensible person here would disagree with the proposition that if militarily—totally militarily—anything can be gained by employing the rats against their masters, it is only common sense to do so. But it is a gross misuse of a claim to "political realism" to gain a rat or two at the expense of profoundly confusing and weakening the movement of millions of people in occupied Europe. In other words, it is questionable that anything will be gained by having Darlan keep the streetcars running on time in Algiers at the expense of *not* having the French railroad workers disrupt the Nazi supply line in the Rhone Valley.

In Britain, Darlanism is a topic that has excited the most serious and disturbed comment in working class circles; several important labor organizations have already protested the policy vigorously. And from my own impressions of the feeling in Commons, I doubt that any amount of discussion in secret session will do much to allay the fears and uneasiness among many MP's of all parties.

IT IS worth noting what a sharp contrast exists between Darlanism and its effects upon serious political warfare in Europe, and the fine use that British political warfare chiefs are making of the Beveridge report in broadcasts to Europe. The effects of the latter can be measured by the violent reaction of the Axis press and radio. I should say that an analysis of that reaction gives one of the best pictures available of the restiveness among the masses under the "New Order," particularly inside Germany itself. Goebbels is faced with the necessity, on one hand, of telling his audience that the Beveridge report is only Bismarck up-to-date, or only Wilhelm II up-to-date, and simultaneously declaring, on the other hand, that this is only the British limping along in the tracks of the Nazi Party's social legislation. He has another line altogether for the reactionary elements in occupied Europe, to whom he suggests that this is proof of Bolshevism's triumph in Britain. All this is a sure barometer of his audience's feelings, proving that Goebbels sees they can appreciate what an absurdity the Beveridge report makes of earlier Nazi propaganda regarding the balance of forces within British "plutocracy." He knows, too, that the news of the report helps them to understand something of Britain's real mood. That Britain itself is profoundly excited and delighted by the report is certain. Of course some people over-easily swallow propaganda to the effect that this is "the British revolution" and that adoption of the report will solve all social postwar problems. To believe anything of the kind is to play into the hands of the reactionaries. Obviously the Beveridge report—as it, itself, more or less clearly admits—does not attempt anything of the kind. It is a scheme for social insurance, a scheme which at least ought to be a minimum program. As such it represents a great move forward which will certainly be fought by threatened interests with the most extreme yet most subtle methods.

I AM told that those most closely associated with Beveridge believe that the best political tactic would be to concentrate immediately on the demand to establish a Ministry of Social Security. What they have in mind probably is the fact that a very large proportion of the Conservative Party would be not only prepared but eager to support the establishment of such a Ministry. And it is dubious that even those who are most bitterly determined to oppose enactment of essential clauses in the report would feel able to oppose the proposed Ministry. What we may see is a rather sham fight on the issue of establishing the Ministry, then a real set-to over the personality of the minister to be appointed; and, parallel with all this, a real propaganda battle from the biggest interests concerned, to prepare the way for opposition to the detailed propositions in the report.

One point in this connection is clearly going to be of crucial importance. There is a possibility that opponents of the report can do a certain amount of demagogic befuddlement by nominally opposing the report merely on the ground that contributions by workers will thereby be increased; and it is true that there is a strong feeling among workers that the burdens which would be placed upon them are unnecessarily heavy. Therefore it will be necessary for the leaders of the labor movement to exert themselves to secure amendment of the report on this point as well as on some other very important details.

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BOTTLENECK IN SCIENCE

Only twenty percent of our technical and scientific manpower is mobilized for war. The proposal of Harry Grundfest, secretary of the American Association of Scientific Workers.

As part of "New Masses'" discussion of the mobilization of the country's scientific and industrial manpower, we publish below a paper by Dr. Harry Grundfest, general secretary of the American Association of Scientific Workers. In the issue of December 1 we printed an analysis by Dr. Thomas Parran, surgeon general of the United States Public Health Service, of the disposition of the nation's medical personnel and the health problems created by the shortage of doctors. Next week Dr. John A. Kingsbury, author of "Health in Handcuffs" and former director of the Milbank Memorial Fund, will survey the need for a comprehensive national health plan and the obstacles placed in the way of such a plan by the hierarchy of the American Medical Association. There will also be comment by other authorities in the field of health services.

We are grateful to the editors of "Science & Society" for permission to print Dr. Grundfest's paper which was read by him at the recent Institute on Problems of the War sponsored by that quarterly journal. The paper appears here slightly abridged. In forthcoming issues we will publish articles from Britain and the Soviet Union describing the status of science there, in relation to the war effort. We have on hand now an article by the famous Soviet scientist P. Kapitsa.

IT WAS during the last war that the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution urging President Wilson and congressional leaders "to foster in every way a broad program of scientific and technical research because it forms a fundamental basis upon which the development of America's industries must rest, because it greatly increases the productivity of industry, advances the health and well-being of the whole population, and raises the worker's standard of living." Today the labor movement and the scientists are again joined in urging the formation of a comprehensive national plan to mobilize our entire economy, including production, manpower, and technology, so that we may wage a people's war with the utmost vigor and achieve a quick and lasting victory.

The importance of science and technology in our national life was first realized in the period of the Civil War, when the Land Grant Act of 1862 fostered the development of the great middle-western universities with their special agricultural and technological bent. A year later came the formation of the National Academy of Sciences as a scientific advisory body to aid the Union in its fight for preservation. During the next half-century scientific and technological development became very important as a concomitant of the rapidly developing industrial structure. When the first world war threatened to involve the United States, science and technology were too complex to be guided adequately by the National Academy alone. New scientific bodies were set up. In 1915 came the formation of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, which disburses government funds for its own researches in aeronautical problems or for work done through university laboratories. The National Research Council was set up a year later under the direction and charter of the National Academy. Unlike the NACA, the Council has the defect of the Academy in that it is only an advisory body which does not have the right or the funds to initiate research. It does have the merit, however, that its 220 members are chosen from among government experts, from scientists at large, and most significantly, by election from about eighty-five scientific and technical societies. A large number of committees cover the main fields of science and technology and about 1,200 scientists in addition to the members of the Council are appointed to these committees.

THE present war has seen the formation of new agencies, which work through the National Academy and National Research Council, but which have money to initiate research or to promote research in existing laboratories. The top body is the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), directed by Dr. Vannevar Bush. Subsidiary to it are two committees. The National Defense Research Committee (NDRC), headed by President Conant, supervises physical and chemical research. About 1,000 scientists serve without pay in the sixty sections within NDRC. The Committee on Medical Research, headed by Prof. A. Newton Richards, has about 250 members serving on some forty-three committees and subcommittees. As of June 1, 1942, OSRD has placed 1,001 contracts for research; 663 contracts were within ninety-four colleges and 338 with industrial establishments. The largest number of these contracts were placed by NDRC, only 169 of the 1,001 coming from CMR. The total expenditure to date is about $40,000,000 and for 1943 the appropriation is about $73,000,000.

OSRD and its subsidiaries have done a good job in the fields with which they have been mainly concerned. Cooperation with the War and Navy Departments is close. The gap between laboratory research and mass production of the equipment resulting out of it is being shortened considerably. For instance, the War Department has placed orders amounting to $560,000,000 for items developed by one section of NDRC. Other developments of research workers are also being put to use with rapidity. A new process for making explosives developed by another section of NDRC has already resulted in an initial saving of $100,000,000 in the construction of explosives factories.

Nevertheless, a recent estimate indicates that only about twenty percent of all scientific and technical manpower is being utilized in the war effort, and utilization of manpower and resources is very unevenly distributed in the various fields. The highest rate of utilization is among physicists, mathematicians, and radio engineers. Our 14,000 physicists are insufficient for the needs of war research and of essential teaching, and many scientists from related fields have been drawn upon to supply the demand. . . .

Teaching of new forces to supplement the number of people doing physical research is also an important war activity. Here there is evidence that facilities and personnel are not being used to best advantage. In one of our best departments of electrical engineering, it is estimated that teaching is being done to only one-fifth of full capacity.

Up to July of this year few of our 10,000 geologists and geophysicists had been active in war research. More recently new activity has been developed and, also, many geologists have shifted to other branches of war work. There are about 100,000 chemists in this country. Only a small number have been used by government research. It has been supposed that most chemists were probably employed in war work through the large chemical industries, but this seems not to be the case. I quote from a recent article by a Chicago chemist: "Considerable dissatisfaction exists among many American chemists because their energy and patriotism have not been harnessed to obviously pressing national needs."

There are nearly 250,000 physicians, dentists, and veterinarians in the medical fields. About twenty percent have already gone into the armed forces. More are scheduled to go. With those remaining, the problem is one of establishing distribution so that civilian health needs can be met. Maximum industrial efficiency requires careful medical supervision of the health of the workers and of the working conditions. The NY Physicians

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Forum has recently recommended that all factories employing 250 or more persons provide a doctor, though not necessarily full time. At present the mushroom growth of new industrial communities is creating a serious health problem, as well as an inefficient production setup. It is therefore necessary to distribute medical personnel more evenly throughout the country, in relation to need rather than profit. This will have to be done either by drafting physicians and dentists for specific jobs or by other means.

In the field of medical research, utilization is far from adequate. I quote from the letter of a leading medical scientist on the West Coast: "Out here on the West Coast my laboratory, and, I know, many others, wait hopefully from week to week and now from month to month to be mobilized for the war. We write projects in complete ignorance of what is being done or should be done and after long waiting may be turned down. Or, we write letters asking what we should do. We get nothing but polite refusals to give us any but negative advice. In the meanwhile, the war morale of all our groups of workers is disintegrating while we continue our academic investigations but without the old intensity. We know we can do good work. We think we have a right to expect that we be used, and we are becoming more and more impatient with this enforced inactivity."

Likewise, when the New York branch of our Association called together workers in the various bacteriological fields to consider what could be done to develop war research, nearly 250 people turned out in response to less than 300 invitations.

PROBABLY the largest single group of scientific workers who are very little utilized in the war effort is that of the nearly 70,000 scientists in the various botanical, zoological, and agricultural branches of biology. The OSRD has concentrated chiefly on problems which are turned over to it by the military experts. The military man understands the need for weapons and military gear and is anxious to see them developed. Since the beginning of this century, he has become aware of the advantages of having a healthy army. But few military men understand the contributions which biological science can make to the war effort. The mobilization of biology has been almost completely neglected in consequence. This is a serious situation, because biologists have themselves seen a number of fields in which they can make important contributions to the war effort. For instance, maximum fighting efficiency requires a well fed soldier. Soldiers therefore eat about 4,500 calories a day, while the average civilian consumption is less than 3,500. This fact alone raises tremendously the food requirements of our army and of those of our allies. It is in part responsible for the shortages which we are now experiencing. Agricultural science needs to be mobilized to provide more food for us and for the devastated countries of our allies.

The food requirements of the worker are also very important. The British have found that providing a nutritious lunch in war factories led to increased production without increased effort by the workers. Production increases of from ten to twenty-five percent have been found in Canada when cafeteria service is provided at or below cost. Recent surveys in this country have shown that only a small fraction of workers is well fed. Nutrition experts and dietitians should be attached to factories, and, most important, provision should be made that every worker receive a balanced meal at least once a day at every factory. Production can be greatly increased, too, by giving the workers pleasant surroundings, music, lectures, and entertainment. Thus, psychologists, educators, painters, musicians, and artists of every field can contribute a lot to war production through proper use of their skills.

WITH our armies scattered over the globe we are running serious risks of great epidemics of disease. India, China, and Africa are places where malaria, yellow fever, cholera, bubonic plague, and other scourges are found continuously. We must learn quickly what are the agents which transmit the diseases, how our troops can avoid contracting the diseases, how we can limit the spread and how to obtain cures. All these problems require teamwork from biological and medical scientists. . . .

There is no effective governmental agency to start investigations in this field. While biologists, therefore, are eating their hearts out searching for ways in which they can be useful to the

A scientist in the Army Medical School's Division of Bacteriology preserves bacterial cultures and viruses by freezing and drying in vacuum.

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war effort, those necessary problems are by and large going untackled.

What is holding up effective mobilization of the huge mass of our scientists? One reason given at the Kilgore bill hearings by Dr. Lyman Chalkley and by Mr. Waldemar Kaempffert is that OSRD has construed its functions too narrowly. OSRD is empowered by presidential order to act in the national defense in the following ways:

1. To advise the President on the present status of scientific research and to suggest measures for continued progress in science.
2. To serve as a center for mobilizing scientific personnel and resources so that they may receive maximum utilization to defense purposes.
3. To coordinate and supplement governmental research.
4. To initiate and support research on mechanisms and devices of warfare.

It is this last aim which seems to be uppermost in the minds of those who determine the policy of OSRD. Dr. Bush [director of OSRD] has written me as follows: "To date . . . it has seemed neither profitable nor necessary to set up projects which would utilize the entire available manpower of those having scientific training. . . . The major portion of our activity has developed by reasons of requests for research and development submitted by the armed forces, and quite naturally these requests in general have covered investigations in the field of the physical sciences. It is also true that some projects are initiated directly by the OSRD itself as a result of its contacts with and understanding of the needs of the Army and Navy, but we do not look to the public or the scientific world at large for scientific problems or projects which require solution. . . ."

THE view that OSRD does not look to the scientific world at large for scientific problems or projects does not seem to be held by one of Dr. Bush's colleagues, for Dr. Richards has written me as follows: "Speaking for the Committee on Medical Research I can tell you that proposals for contracts in the field of military medicine are recommended from any responsible source." Nor does the scientific public consider such restrictions useful. One chemist has recently stated: "Perhaps more problems would be available if we were allowed to hunt them up ourselves rather than wait for the military men to bring them to us." How many problems could be brought forward may be judged from a survey conducted by one scientist who found that eighty percent of those asked had ideas on problems pertaining to the war effort, but only two percent had submitted their ideas to the authorities.

Dr. Bush's view that "it has seemed neither profitable nor necessary to . . . utilize the entire available manpower of those having scientific training" is being challenged today by most scientists. I have given you some evidence of the views of scientists in many fields who feel that they have much to contribute, and one member of the National Research Council recently spoke of the "growing demand for complete utilization of the scientifically trained personnel."

Mechanisms by which this demand may be expressed are limited. The majority of scientists are not consulted on policies, plans, or ideas with regard to the war effort. Control of these policies has been centralized in the National Academy, in the NRC, and in the OSRD, all of which overlap considerably. This centralization is not necessarily harmful, since the National Academy represents the outstanding scientific leaders of the nation. But frequent and broad contacts with the body of scientists in the country is essential for the efficient working of this central command. To date, these contacts have been lacking. At the meetings of the scientific societies there has been little serious discussion of policies concerning the war effort of the professional groups. At some meetings, in fact, the war has hardly entered the picture at all. . . .

New efforts and new ideas have broken out in various parts of the country, although the majority of scientists are still waiting, passive and puzzled, until the authorities call on their skills. The new efforts have taken a number of different forms, some designed primarily to secure better utilization of local groups, others having the additional aim of providing a demonstration of the value of the approach as a model for nationwide action by the authorities.

A State Scientific Advisory Committee to Minnesota War Industries has been set up by Governor Stassen. It is composed of members from various departments of the University of Minnesota and in its brief existence has already undertaken a number of problems submitted by industry. Similar committees could be set up in other industrial areas and in New York, for example, where the problem of converting small firms to war work is very acute; a committee appointed by Mayor LaGuardia would serve a very good purpose.

The resources of twenty-five local scientific and technical societies in the Chicago area have been joined in the Associated Defense Committee of the Chicago Technical Societies. The ADC has worked closely with the Chicago Ordnance District and with WPB on all sorts of military and industrial problems. Similar committees have been set up in Milwaukee and in South Bend. In Baltimore the local branch of our Association has set about organizing a similar group.

The elaboration of methods by which local groups can formulate war research projects has been the concern of our New York branch. They started with the premise that a group of scientists from a given field, by pooling their ideas and their somewhat varied training, could overcome the barriers of unfamiliarity with war problems, and could evolve worthwhile projects. This has proved to be a correct premise and various small groups are now in existence. Their success has recently led to an expansion of the plan and at the first meeting of the Bacteriologists' War Research Projects Group, about 250 attended a discussion on the problem of enteric diseases. Six projects deemed worthy of research were developed in this one field alone from this single meeting.

Another mode of approach has been tried on the West Coast. Members of the various biological and medical departments of Stanford and California Universities, from professors to assistants, have formed a committee which meets regularly to discuss projects brought in by scientists of the San Francisco area. The committee is well equipped to advise the national authorities on the facilities and personnel available in their area to do war research. They are asking the authorities to make use of their special knowledge.

All these activities are preliminary and sporadic. They can be organized on a nationwide scale only through the assistance of the authorities, and in full development might play a role similar to that of the labor-management committees or of local OCD groups. They could enlist other very important groups of technically trained people which I have not hitherto discussed. For example, the experts and technicians without college degrees, the high school and college science teachers and the students in the science courses of these schools could all be enlisted in the war effort through these decentralized, but centrally encouraged groups.

THESE actions are not all, or necessarily the most important, of the steps which need to be taken to assure the maximum utilization of science and technology. In our complex national life we have developed a multitude of agencies carrying on scientific work of a special nature which is either unprofitable for private industry or enterprise, or which are too important to the national safety and welfare to be left in private hands. These need coordination into a national plan. We also need to develop machinery through which the applications of science and technology will be rapidly and surely made; through which defects in our productive mechanism can be anticipated and forestalled; and through which new advances will be sought and found. Machinery is needed which will be responsible for supplying technical information on technological policy so that responsible

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Research in fuels. Coal is examined under the microscope by workers in th e US Bureau of Mines to determine amount of oil that can be produced.

government administrators can make decisions on policy which are free from influence by private groups.

This machinery has been recently designed by the Kilgore bill, which was introduced into the Senate on August 17. Hearings on the bill are now going on before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. The Kilgore Bill aims "To mobilize for maximum war effort the full powers of our technically trained manhood; and similarly to mobilize all technical facilities, equipment, and processes, inventions and knowledge; and to accomplish the objectives:

"1. By breaking bottlenecks that today choke up these technical forces;

"2. By fully utilizing the facilities of small business, technological laboratories, inventions and inventors, and maximizing the output of war goods and essential civilian supplies;

"3. By providing adequate supplies of substitutes . . . and by discovering and developing new sources of critical raw materials;

"4. By stimulating new discoveries and inventions, developing more efficient materials and products, and improving standards of production; . . .

"5. By promoting the use and development of those processes, products and materials most efficient for the successful prosecution of the war to a speedy and secure victory."

To do all these things, the Kilgore bill wishes to set up an Office of Technological Mobilization with the following rights and duties. It is to mobilize all personnel and facilities by securing information on them; by appraising their current use; and by allocation of them wherever they may be used in work deemed essential. To promote the development of new techniques, processes, and products, it is directed to review all projects and developments, including practical development of inventions. It is directed to promote such projects as it deems appropriate and is empowered to do so through a variety of means. OTM is further directed to review established production facilities, etc., with a view to their improvement or improved use.

OTM is also integrated into the entire War Production Program. It is directed to give technical aid and information to all government agencies; to check on inefficient production of war or essential civilian supplies; and to dissolve hindrances to maximum technical efficiency in production by compelling the licensing of all patents, secret processes, and special technical information at reasonable rates of compensation.

The Office of Technological Mobilization is enabled to do all these things by the allocation of a fund of $200,000,000. Reports are to be submitted to the President, Vice-President, and Speaker every sixty days and all that material in the reports which does not give aid or comfort to the enemy is to be published.

On the whole, the Kilgore bill provides nearly all the needs of technological mobilization. It has been studied and approved by the New York branch of our Association, which has also suggested some modifications. The bill deserves the approval of all people who wish to effect the rapid victory of our war effort. The bill, furthermore, works out in detail the program of the Office of Technological Mobilization which is called for by the Tolan-Pepper Kilgore bill which was introduced more recently in both houses of Congress. . . .

I WISH to conclude this discussion with a few brief remarks on mobilization on an international scale. Science and technology are international and they are extremely sensitive to events all over the world. But this sensitivity is particularly important in wartime and it is very necessary to develop it to its maximum. We have a great deal to learn from the battle experience of our scientific colleagues in the United Nations. A considerable amount of interchange is now going on between British and American scientists. British and Soviet collaboration is also developing, but we know from the press and from sources such as the Baruch Rubber Report that cooperation and scientific interchange between American and Soviet science are not very close. This seems to be a defect which should be corrected as soon as possible, since we apparently can learn a great deal from our Soviet allies about the utilization of scientists. It is a very striking fact that in the various reports of scientists from the United Nations and the hearings on technological mobilization now being held before the Kilgore committee, there is universal agreement that the Soviet Union has done the best job of all the nations in mobilizing its science and technology both for peace and for war.

HARRY GRUNDFEST.

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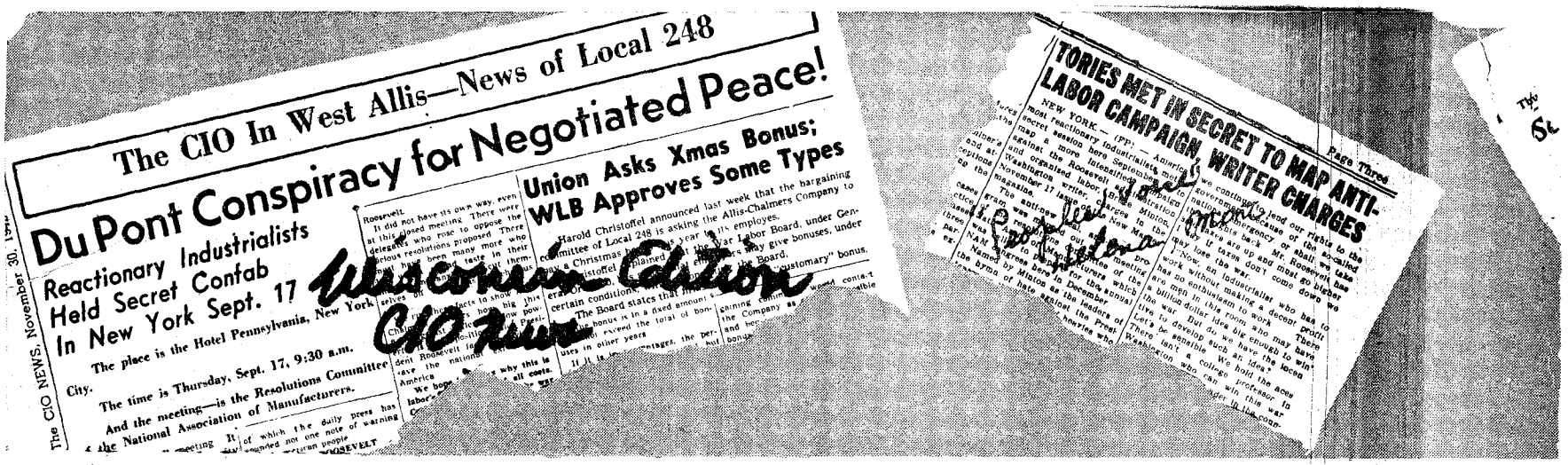

The CIO In West Allis—News of Local 248
Du Pont Conspiracy for Negotiated Peace!
Reactionary Industrialists Held Secret Confab In New York Sept. 17
The place is the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City.
The time is Thursday, Sept. 17, 9:30 a.m.
And the meeting—is the Resolutions Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers.
Union Asks Xmas Bonus; WLB Approves Some Types
Wisconsin Edition
CIO News
TORIES MET IN SECRET TO MAP ANTI-LABOR CAMPAIGN, WRITER CHARGES
Page Three
The CIO NEWS, November 30, 194

THE MAN THE

They called it a war convention, but they chose

THE forgotten man at the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers was Adolph Hitler. If anybody bothered to offer a reminder (remember him? he's the fellow we're supposed to be fighting), this interruption was not disclosed to the public. As in 1935, 1936, 1937, etc., Public Enemy Number One was in Washington, not Berlin. It wasn't necessary to mention him by name; all these warnings about the "threat" to our system of "free enterprise," the tirades against the "sovietizing" of American industry by labor and the fulminations against organized control of war production had an unmistakable target.

These annual NAM conventions are all of a piece. A few government officials are invited to speak in order to give the affair a tone of statesmanlike gravity; there is generally a Congressman of the extreme right wing persuasion; there are a couple of professors to do some ideological needling about the trend toward "socialism"; and there are canned speeches by a number of leading industrialists which are mostly variations in vitriol on the theme of That Man and his works. Out of it all there are fashioned in small committees resolutions and a platform which sometimes bluntly, sometimes obliquely (depending on which strategy the public relations boys decide is most expedient) summarize the familiar credo of the NAM hierarchy.

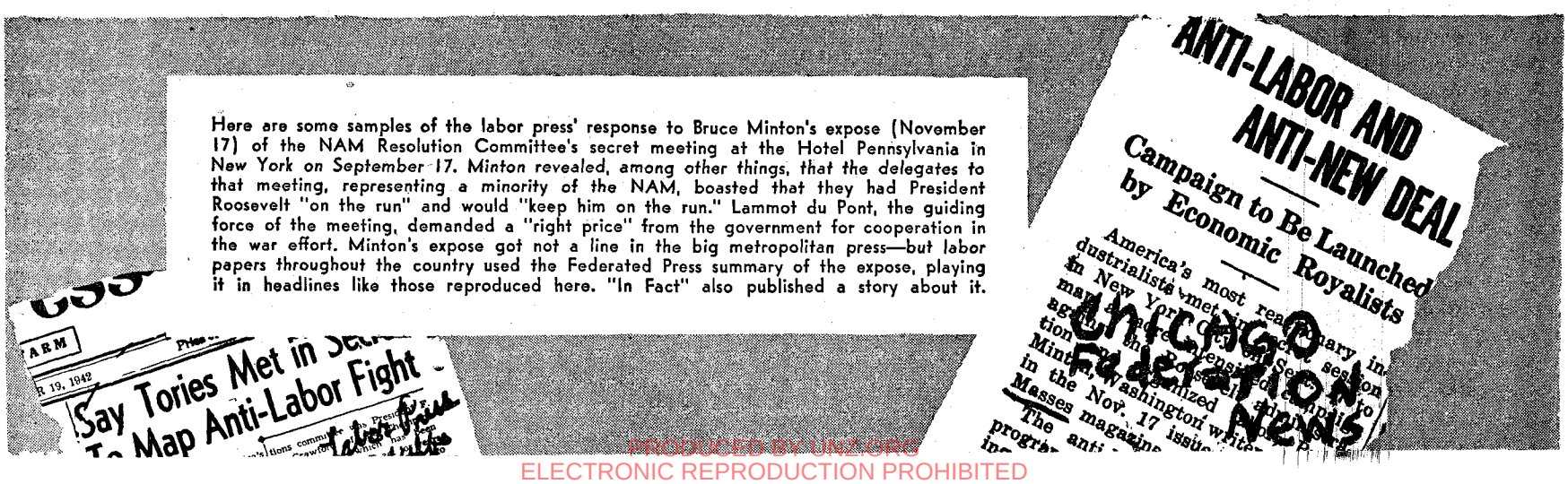
But, you will say, this isn't 1935 or even 1941. This is war. Our country is fighting for its life. And the NAM convention was entitled the War Congress of American Industry. Didn't it adopt a program which began: "Victory in battle can come for our fighting men if all of us at home make the job of winning the war overshadow everything else"? Lest there be any doubt as to which war the NAM leaders want to win, listen to Harley L. Lutz, professor of public finance at Princeton University, one of the featured speakers at the convention:

". . . the war on the military and naval front is not our only war. The other war is a kind of desperate civil war between those whose purpose is to destroy the American way of life and those who would preserve it. No one need feel concern over the final outcome of the military war; but there is reason for the gravest concern over the outcome of our civil war—the war of the screwy social reformers against the American way of life."

And Professor Lutz concluded his address as follows: "American business has signed up 100 percent for the duration of the military war. It should sign up 100 percent for the duration of the civil war, because defeat in this war will mean that you will have fought two wars in vain."

NOW just consider those two statements. Professor Lutz says that our chief concern should be not the war for which thousands of Americans are sacrificing and shedding their blood, the great people's war against the Axis, but the war against the Roosevelt administration, our own government. And he insists that unless the war against our government is won, victory over the Axis will be in vain. Well, there is no greater enemy of the American government than Adolph Hitler. There is no one more likely to see eye to eye with Professor Lutz in his estimate of where the heaviest fire should be directed. Is it really necessary to point out what the sum of two plus two is? Isn't it obvious that the logic of Professor Lutz' position is—negotiated peace with Hitler?

But, you may say, perhaps this speech was exceptional. Unfortunately, it was *typical*. I have carefully read through practically all of the addresses at the NAM convention. Omitting those by government officials, who, of course, are not responsible for what happened at the sessions, nine-tenths of the others were couched in the spirit of Professor Lutz' invitation to surrender. And it was appropriate that the only political leader who addressed the gathering was the grand poobah of defeatism, Herbert Hoover, and the only member of Congress who spoke was the notorious Rep. Melvin J. Maas of Minnesota, who once more urged that we forget about Hitler and concentrate on Japan in the Pacific.


Here are some samples of the labor press' response to Bruce Minton's expose (November 17) of the NAM Resolution Committee's secret meeting at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York on September 17. Minton revealed, among other things, that the delegates to that meeting, representing a minority of the NAM, boasted that they had President Roosevelt "on the run" and would "keep him on the run." Lammot du Pont, the guiding force of the meeting, demanded a "right price" from the government for cooperation in the war effort. Minton's expose got not a line in the big metropolitan press—but labor papers throughout the country used the Federated Press summary of the expose, playing it in headlines like those reproduced here. "In Fact" also published a story about it.
Say Tories Met in Secret To Map Anti-Labor Fight
ANTI-LABOR AND ANTI-NEW DEAL
Campaign to Be Launched by Economic Royalists
Chicago Federation News

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.A.M. FORGOT

rrong enemy. What about Hitler, Mr. du Pont?

In other words, the same clique controlled the convention that dominated the closed meeting of the NAM Resolutions Committee, held September 17 at the Hotel Pennsylvania. In NEW MASSES of November 17 Bruce Minton told the story of what happened at the Resolutions Committee meeting—a story that was suppressed by the entire daily press of the country. The chairman of that meeting was F. C. Crawford, head of Thompson Products, Inc., Cleveland (he is the new president of the NAM), who shouted: "Keep him [Roosevelt] on the run." The most influential figure at the September 17 meeting was Lammot du Pont, chairman of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., who said: "Deal with the government and the rest of the squawkers the way you deal with a buyer in a seller's market. . . . They want what we've got. Good. Make them pay the right price for it." And the spirit of that meeting was further exemplified by the cheers which greeted a speaker who said: "If we are to come out of this war with a Marxist brand of socialism, then I say negotiate peace now and bring Adolph over here to run the show. He knows how."

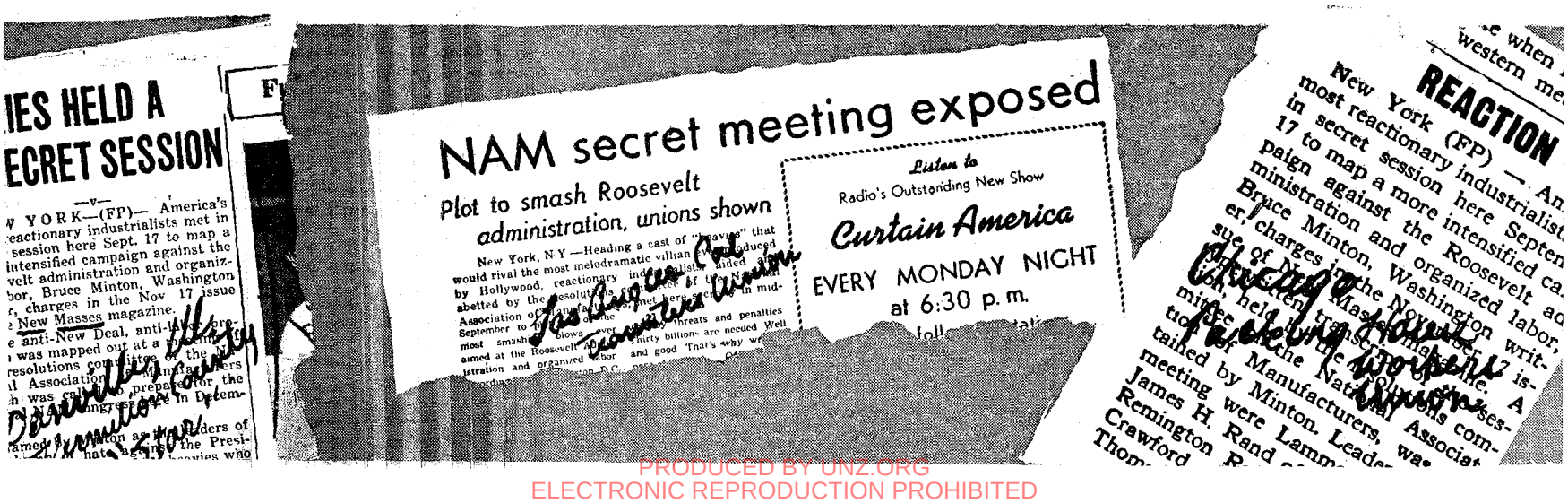
I submit that the speeches and decisions of the NAM convention, while they omitted dotting certain i's and crossing certain t's, were of the same pattern.

IT WOULD, however, be a mistake to assume that this so-called War Congress of American Industry speaks for a majority of the nation's industrialists. The NAM itself comprises only about 6,000 or 7,000 manufacturing firms out of some 184,000 in the country. Nor can it even be said to speak for a majority of the big industrialists. In 1938 the Senate La Follette committee investigating violations of civil liberties showed that the NAM was controlled by only five percent of its membership, with the largest financial contributions coming from the du Ponts. Today it is probable that the dominant clique represents an even smaller percentage of the NAM membership. Both at the Resolutions Committee meeting in September and at the convention the leaders of American war industry were, with the exception of du Pont and Henry J. Kaiser (whose speech on postwar perspectives was in a different vein from most of the others), conspicuous by their absence. Last year, for example, C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, was chairman of the Resolutions Committee; this year he did not even attend. And among the speakers at the convention there were no such figures as Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of General Motors, and K. T. Keller, president of Chrysler, who addressed last year's gathering. The conclusion is inescapable that the strident voices at the NAM convention represented a defeatist minority not only in the country, but within big business itself. However, one must not ignore the power for evil this minority possesses or the influence it wields among the win-the-war industrialists, many of whom are so bogged down in business-as-usual prejudices that they are often induced to support policies which play into the defeatists' hands and undermine the war effort.

In a speech at the NAM convention Walter B. Weisenburger, the organization's executive vice-president, found it necessary to take note of the NEW MASSES article. He said that NEW MASSES "so fears our public information program's ability to popularize the resolutions to be passed at this War Congress that it recently warned its readers not to believe what the resolutions will say." The resolutions that were passed show that the NAM's public relations experts did, as du Pont put it at the September 17 meeting, "sweeten up the bitter pill." But that is all the more reason for the American public, for all those who truly "make the job of winning the war overshadow everything else," to be on their guard against this compound from the Nazi pharmacopoeia. The road to Berlin may, after all, lead through Wilmington, Del.

A. B. MAGIL.

Mr. Magil will continue his discussion of the NAM convention in the next issue.


NAM secret meeting exposed
Plot to smash Roosevelt administration, unions shown
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Radio's Outstanding New Show
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EVERY MONDAY NIGHT
at 6:30 p. m.
REACTION
New York (FP) — An most reactionary industrialist in secret session here Septen 17 to map a more intensified ca paign against the Roosevelt ad ministration and organized labor, Bruce Minton, Washington

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WAGES PLUS SERVICES

Protection of worker's efficiency and standards is a war necessity. But living costs have not remained static. How services can supplement wages to keep labor's health at maximum.

Washington.

UNTIL recently the effort to raise wage rates in dollars and cents occupied the labor movement's attention more than any other issue. Today, however, the accent shifts. As yet organized labor has not fully formulated new ways of protecting its membership; but every day the unions come closer to the viewpoint that money wages at this moment are relatively secondary in the ever-present struggle to improve conditions of men and women in factories, mines, and mills.

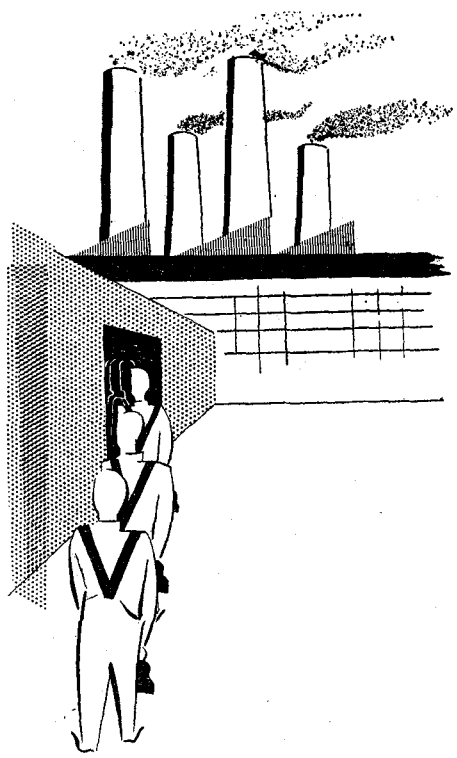
When, in January 1942, on the suggestion of the CIO and AFL, President Roosevelt created the National War Labor Board, he urged the stabilization of wages. Since then, decisions on most important wage disputes have been handed down by the War Labor Board—including cases involving the steel, automobile, non-ferrous metals, and electrical industries. In these and other instances (with the one exception of non-ferrous metals), the Board followed a formula first enunciated in the Little Steel settlement—that wage increases should be restricted to a rise of fifteen percent, which according to the Board represented the increase in living costs between Jan. 1, 1941, and May 1, 1942, when the President outlined his seven-point program for America's wartime economy. A further executive order on October 3 provided that all wage increases, however arrived at, must be reviewed by the Board; only gross inequities, substandard rates, or severe inequalities would in the future be considered sufficient reason for wage rises; in addition, the Little Steel formula was made applicable to all wages.

To organized labor the War Labor Board formula contained a flaw in reasoning. If after May 1942, living costs had remained fixed, then tying wages to these costs for the duration could probably have been considered justifiable. But living costs have proved far from static. Since May food, clothing, services of all kinds, even rents have risen further. Yet wages remained constant once the gap between January 1941 and May 1942 had supposedly been closed by a fifteen percent boost.

The Little Steel formula resulted from an analysis of a living cost index covering the entire nation. Even those who made the index privately admit its inaccuracy, particularly when it is applied regionally. A wage rise of fifteen percent in the South, for example, does not eliminate the South-North differential, or bring wages below the Mason-Dixon line to efficiency levels. The WLB chairman, William H. Davis, went on the air November 25 to announce: "Briefly, the Board will act upon the presumption that the wage and salary rates which prevailed on Sept. 15, 1942, are proper rates." Davis accented "proper." He added that the Board would not raise wages except in cases of gross maladjustment or inequality.

However, other WLB decisions help brighten the outlook. The Board recently ruled that wages of women workers can, without prior WLB approval, be brought up to the level of men's wages for equal work, a decision of great positive significance. In addition, there is no ban on increased earnings on piece rates, or through other incentive methods; bonuses and higher pay as a result of promotions are permitted, while there are no restrictions at all on wage raises in companies with eight or less workers.

Yet there are cases where WLB policy may not be sufficiently flexible. What impresses me these days in talking to unionists either working here or coming into Washington for Board hearings, is the tendency among them to redefine their whole approach to the wage question. They all point out that increases in money wages allow workers to command more necessities. If the Board sticks too rigidly to its formula, unions face the alternative of winning necessities for their members by other means. Every unionist I've met recently has reached much the same conclusion —independently, because as yet there has been no general policy laid down on this question. All feel that contracts in the future will stress services and products. If wage rises are out, then let the company come across with hospitalization, medical care, insurance, decent housing, proper food, work clothes, other social services. Chairman Davis made clear that the War Labor Board did not oppose wage increases because of any inability on the part of management to pay higher rates. Rather, the Board was ruled by its "inflation" theory. Very well, say the unionists, after this, contracts should contain substitutes for more money. Let the employers guarantee severance payments to all, thus alleviating fears of temporary unemployment. Let them provide all the other services that cost money but which are essential to health and efficiency.



EARL BROWDER pointed out in his now famous discussion of the needs of a wartime economy: "Wages must now be expressed in a guaranteed supply of the workers' needs as a producer." Many are coming around to this viewpoint. The larger unions, having won wage rises in 1942, have no illusions about persuading the Board to authorize further increases when they renegotiate contracts this coming year. So instead of talking wages, they are beginning to think of demands that will provide necessities beyond reach at present wage rates and present living costs.

Take the case of brickyard workers in a small town near St. Louis. The local asked its national office in Washington for advice. Wages are now 47½ cents an hour, below efficiency, though the rate includes a 15 percent increase recently awarded. Nor is the wage substandard in the eyes of the Board, since it surpasses levels in other brickyards of the region. The local complains that it hasn't a chance of getting a wage increase, though its members are underpaid in relation to their needs. What should it do? The union's national office has responded with the advice that the local negotiate a contract wherein management agrees to provide medical care, hospitalization, work clothes, free lunches. Thus the brickyard workers' standard of living would improve while wages remained undisturbed.

There is little need to point out here that a great proportion of present-day dislocations could have been avoided had all seven points of the President's program been heeded. And until the economy is readjusted as a whole, labor's problem is difficult and pressing. Hence, the unions are rapidly becoming convinced that their accent must be placed on

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pplements to wage rates. Protection of work-:s' efficiency and health dare not be neg-ected. Otherwise, the war effort is endan-gered.

★

QUITE an argument broke out last week up at the swanky national headquarters of the American Red Cross. Old timers in several departments were outraged when they looked over drawings of a proposed poster, with the slogan across the top "Support the Red Cross for Victory." To those who still regard any one who has come to Washington since the Hoover administration as an interloper, the word "victory" violates the classic "neutrality" of the Red Cross. Mabel Boardman, a fixture in Washington society, was particularly disturbed. She and other relics of the twenties protested loud and vigorously to the chairman, Norman Davis. The offending word was liquidated.

But the younger, energetic, and more far-seeing men and women who have come into the Red Cross (like Mrs. Archibald MacLeish, the wives of younger State Department officials, almost the entire paid personnel) disagreed with the decision—and violently. Fortunately the Red Cross is no longer the private property of a few who feel that the outcome of the war against the Axis is utterly extraneous. This year, for the first time, the Red Cross is using the union label on its printing; its labor unit has been highly successful in winning the support and collaboration of organized labor. But the faction which still sighs for the good old Hoover days manages to exert a great deal of influence on Red Cross policy. The outrage of these people is truly olympian when they learn that "radicals" have invaded their organization, and have the nerve to advocate such subversive, even "Communistic" ideas as the theory that there is nothing contradictory in the humanitarian Red Cross working consciously and deliberately to wipe out the scourge of Hitlerism and win the war.

WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED

MORE STATEMENTS FROM PROMINENT AMERICANS ON ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE PEARL HARBOR AND THE JOBS AHEAD.

Stanley M. Isaacs

Member, New York City Council

IT IS obvious that unity at home and complete understanding and cooperation with *all* our allies is essential if we are to win the war soon. But we still seem far from these goals. There are some here, less vocal than heretofore, who did not want to see our armed forces take any risk in order to relieve Russia from the onslaught of the massed German armies. Their prejudices outweigh their loyalty. This group, however, is rapidly diminishing in number, and the splendid Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, terminating in the Garden meeting on November 8, evidences broad progress in all circles toward better understanding.

We still have leaders at home who took heart from the last election and are ready to promote disunity and division if they can; who still regard isolation as a sound policy for our nation. The moral is clear: we must advance in public life only those men and women who are wholeheartedly for winning this war, and who are equally wholeheartedly for winning the kind of peace that Roosevelt, Wallace, and Willkie plan. All the great democratic nations of the world must be united in an effort to preserve civilization from another war. We must share in this effort and policy. A sound foundation of justice and liberty for all peoples, of all races and creeds, is essential if that goal is to be achieved. The new world that these great statesmen envision involves no revolution—simply honest devotion to democracy as our forefathers understood that word; honest admission that when we say all men are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we mean *all* men; and that men are men whether their skins are white, black, or yellow; and faith in the fact that the nations of the world can successfully unite and cooperate to achieve security and freedom for all mankind.

Malcolm S. MacLean

President, Hampton Institute.
Chairman, Fair Employment Practice Committee.

A SOLDIER disdained at Bracketville, Tex., tolerated at Sidney, Australia, and cheered in London, himself always at war, the Negro broods upon the chances of War II. And what lessons do his experiences teach?

He is caught up in this global storm in which freedom is the stake. He sees that denial of freedom has thrived on barriers of racial exclusion and denial of opportunity. In the year since Pearl Harbor the Negro has seen federal government, as always in democracy, at odds with itself. Administration policy is forthright in statement and aim, but execution of this policy of universal freedom is hampered and slowed by the igorant or the hard pressed reactionaries who filibuster away the freedom of 10,000,000 at home. For freedom, Negro soldiers man the business end of 155 mm howitzers in the jungles of primitive New Guinea, but Negro skilled workers are not yet all free to work in the factory where those guns are made in Detroit. Qualified Negro chemists, mechanics, and electricians eke out a pittance in struggling schools and small towns, while the Civil Service Commission broadsides colleges with announcements of war service employment opportunities. In a recent survey of the hiring schedules of selected defense employers, the Bureau of Employment Security reported that fifty-one per-cent of 282,245 expected job openings were still barred to Negro workers. Obviously, the first lesson—the lesson yet to be learned—is that freedom, like charity, begins at home.

In the meantime, jerkily—like infants making first, puny steps—thousands of white Americans are learning how to work with Negroes. A certain aircraft corporation employing 40,000 workers had, in September 1941, never before hired a Negro; but by February 1942 the company had 350 Negroes at work—mainly in production. Other Americans are learning how to ride with Negroes in railroad coaches down through the deep South.

A revealing lesson that, to those benighted souls who had been taught from infancy never to endure association with Negroes! More white Americans are now sitting in conferences with Negro Americans, and not becoming contaminated by the virus of "social equality." Still others, the illuminati, are belatedly discovering that teaching salary checks are no less valuable if Negro teachers with comparable qualifications receive comparable pay.

Lastly, in two conspicuous state campaigns the worthy citizens appear to have learned that the old vote-getting spell of race-baiting has been broken—at least temporarily.

What, then, is the score? For the Negro a year of War II has brought equivocal lessons: in some quarters reaction firmly in the saddle, in other quarters slow steps toward ideals of freedom. It is therefore obvious that the all-front struggle for liberation must not be softened or delayed. Constant appraisal of the facts—such as this by NEW MASSES—must go on.

The yeoman service of a few men and women now passionately devoted to the cause of freedom must surge to an unflagging, all-American drive if the nation is to deserve the victory for which it fights.

[*Additional statements will appear in forthcoming issues.*]

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THE LIFE AND DEATH OF LEM WARD

"He was more than a stage director . . . he was a force." The theater loses a friend and a genius; the battle for democracy loses a soldier. A tribute by Alvah Bessie.

IT IS a commonplace in obituaries of distinguished people to write, "His (or her) loss will be felt deeply." Now this is not an obituary—it is an attempt at an appreciation. But in the case of Lem Ward, the stage director, who died on the threshold of a brilliant career, the commonplace phrase becomes true; the words assume the flesh of life.

Lem was a young man—in his early thirties. He was a stage director: he took the raw bones of a playwright's work, and with a stage designer, a lighting expert, a cast of actors, a costumer, and stagehands, he made a new synthesis we call a play.

A play is more than the sum of its parts, as any beginning student of the theater knows. But it can be said of Lem that, more than most directors of his day, he was able to achieve this synthesis, to clothe the raw bones of the play with glowing life. That he could do this even when hampered with poor material was the proof of his genius in his field. And this genius—or rather its absence—is the loss that will be felt. For Lem Ward was more than a stage director in New York. He was a force.

The man himself was born in Philadelphia where, as a child, he thought of himself as an artist—a graphic artist. Wearing his first long pants he competed for a European fellowship through the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He didn't get it. Instead he took a course preparatory to teaching art and education, and in his second year at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Fine Arts, he became an instructor. For nine years, off and on, Lem taught at this institution, and it was here that he entered the theater—via the brush. For it is only a small step from designing stage sets to working with actors.

Lem worked with Jasper Deeter at the Hedgerow Theater for three years and his summers were spent at Unity House in Forest Park, Pa., where he was recreational director for this ILGWU camp. It was here that he came into contact with an individual and a force. The individual was the costume designer Toni Michael, whom he loved and married. The force was the labor movement—which he loved; to which he became wedded.

THE man was many-sided. He could act; he could dance; design sets, manipulate marionettes, direct. He did all these things simultaneously. He founded the Labor Lyceum in Philadelphia; he experimented with films; established a marionette theater and invented a simplified control for puppets; and he produced such difficult works as *Wozzeck*, *The Emperor Jones*, Stravinsky's operas (with music), *Oedipus Rex*, and *L'Histoire d'un Soldat*. That was from 1934 to 1936.

The second date is significant; it coincides with the great popular effort in America that was known as the People's Front. Founding a New Theater League in Philadelphia, Lem produced *Let Freedom Ring*, *Black Pit*, *Bury the Dead*, and *Marching Song*—at night. During the day he taught full time at the University of Pennsylvania's School of Design. It was the depth of the depression. Ward was fatigued, asked for a year's leave of absence from the school, didn't get it.

But circumstances alter cases. He was called to New York, as a result of his direction of *Marching Song*, to assist in the Theater Union's production of this John Howard Lawson play. There he met another individual who is a force in cultural America—Lawson. For the Federal Theater of New York Lem restaged Lawson's impressionistic play *Processional*. And in the Federal Theater he met his two brilliant collaborators, Howard Bay the designer and Moe Hack the lighting expert. These three became a triumvirate of outstanding theatrical work that persisted to the day of Lem's death. They worked together on all Lem's assignments—on *One-Third of a Nation* (the production of this Living Newspaper, as conceived by Lem, has directly influenced any number of subsequent productions of plays in no way comparable to it).

HIS versatility was such that he could sit on the production board of the New York Federal Theater, move from there to the FT marionette stages, direct *Clinton Street* (in Yiddish) for the Artef, entrain to St. Louis and produce a stupendous pageant (in 1940) to celebrate the Jefferson Memorial. Simultaneously he taught and directed for the New Theater School, taught playwriting at the Writers' School of the League of American Writers, acted as production chairman for the "Lunch Time" follies, and produced, anonymously, many anti-fascist pageants.

These are the bare facts of almost any man's career. What is important is the content of these facts; the over-all complexion Ward brought to his work. To appreciate fully the nature of his contribution to our theater you have to talk to his collaborators and colleagues.

Lem Ward

Said Maxwell Anderson: "My own experience with Lem Ward's direction makes me believe that not since I came into the theater have I seen a director of his stature and ability. Looking on at what he did with my play, I have the distinct impression that here, for the first time in my experience, I saw a directorial genius at work."

The word genius is used by everyone associated with Lem. You will find it in the mouth of a stagehand, a lighting director, a scene designer, a house manager, an actor, a publicity man. What is it young Lem gave all these people that they miss so much?

He gave them his understanding of the world—the world of the collective man, working together as a team (as a bomber crew works together, as men and women work together in a trade union, in a soviet). He was both a leader and a guide. He could come into the theater and, instead of saying, "Let's try it this way, and see how it looks," he would say, "We'll do it this way." And it was invariably right. That is leadership.

The guidance came in the progressive development of rehearsals, where Ward felt that his place in the production should become less and less apparent as the work went on. He effaced himself; the leadership he had given was subsumed by his colleagues, who made it a part of themselves and carried it forward in deeper understanding, in finer projection of the values he had pointed out. "He plays no tricks," said Maxwell Anderson. "He conceals nothing. He merely works with brilliant good sense and true imagination."

THAT was the man who is gone from us now, and it is a hard fact for anyone who loves the theater—who loves people—to face. I can recall several arguments with Lem that left us both exhausted, and it does no good to say I would give a lot to have another one—to watch that sharp face in action, those keen eyes, those expressive hands.

An artist in any medium is a part of the collective spirit of mankind; a people's artist is a conscious part of that spirit. The struggle against fascism is weakened to a measurable extent by the loss of Lem, but he would have been the first to say, "Pick up the pieces and get going. No individual is that important." Of course he would be right. But we will have to work that much harder till the final victory is won. How Lem would have loved to see that victory! What a pageant he would have directed! What a play!

ALVAH BESSIE.

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The Beveridge Plan

WE WONDER whether the millions of Britain's Tommy Atkins' will understand the ripple of fright which ran through Tory minds when Sir William Beveridge presented his postwar social security blueprint. Sir William is a mild mannered economist whose thinking is even milder. Yet it is an act of courage to offer a valuable document which tells the giant industrial insurance companies that their schemes have failed and that a government program will have to take hold.

While it is far from being "revolutionary" —Sir William insists that it was beyond his jurisdiction to probe the roots of unemployment—the plan proposes that a Ministry of Social Security be responsible for the welfare of every Briton from the cradle to the grave. Before the war the well known Rowntree investigation uncovered the fact that almost a third of the wage earning population scratched along in poverty due to joblessness. Under the Beveridge plan, according to cabled reports, an unemployed married worker with two children would receive $11.20 a week. Health insurance provides for the same amount as that for unemployment. Medical and hospital treatment would be available without charge to all income groups. There would be a lump sum marriage grant of forty dollars, a thirteen-week childbirth grant of about ninety dollars, and a small weekly family allowance for children. On retirement, husband and wife would be paid upward of eight dollars a week. There would be an eighty-dollar burial grant for adults and twenty-four dollars for infants. And at long last housewives are acknowledged as performing useful work through the establishment of housewives' policies—premiums on which are paid before marriage. All women workers are benefited on an equal basis with men. These latter two principles as embodied in the plan mark a giant stride forward.

Here is evidence, then, that the war in England has set in motion the wheels of useful reform. Pre-war conditions slowly evaporate before the idea that government is in large measure responsible for blocking peacetime afflictions. Undoubtedly the Beveridge plan will have a decided effect on British morale. But at best all plans at this stage, particularly those devised by top committees or by an individual, cannot cope with the hard facts that will emerge in a postwar world.

Intrinsic in the thinking behind the Beveridge plan is that the close of the war will find at least 1,500,000 unemployed in the British Isles. The assumption is not far fetched that these jobless men will come from both the ranks of the armed forces and those now in war production. They will ask themselves questions, the core of which will be: Why cannot the scale of production in wartime which reduced unemployment to very small totals be carried over into peacetime? The answer of necessity will have bearing on the roots of unemployment—monopoly domination and the private ownership of England's economy.

Such an approach is fundamentally different from the approach on which the Beveridge plan rests. And no plan for the future can be considered as having rational foundations for a postwar Britain which does not reckon with "the basic causes of crises, unemployment, and poverty" as the London *Daily Worker* notes.

Perspectives are helpful if the time and energy devoted to them do not collide with the planning and work for victory. Undeniably certain problems which only a short time ago were regarded as belonging in a postwar category now present themselves as requiring prompt solution. But what the future brings, needless to say, will have its origins in the present, in the strength of the Allied coalition, in the will of all peoples to destroy the greatest threat to their security. Otherwise all schemes for tomorrow will be the jokes of the keepers of a world Dachau.

Rogues of Europe

"KAISER" Otto of Hapsburg, by some secret process of witchcraft, is being promoted as the leader of a free Austria. The unfortunate impression created by Secretary of War Stimson's letter to Otto has helped this pretender's ambitions to a throne which exists only in the imagination of some Hollywood producers of waltz extravaganzas. Otto, by way of understatement, is no friend of a free Austria. Millions of Hungarians and Yugoslavs, as well as Austrians, remember the nightmare of emperor rule. They know of Otto's association with Tibor Eckhardt, Hungarian Hapsburg agent, who was the founder of an anti-Semitic movement called "Awakening Hungarians." They remember Otto's bid for the monarchy by offering an Austrian brand of fascism in place of the authentic package from Berlin. "There are only two roads which are open," wrote Otto in the days of Schuschnigg, "those to monarchism, or to national socialism. There is no room in my country for a liberal movement."

Nor can we, this week, overlook Baron Mannerheim's carrier pigeon cooped in the capital under the guise of minister from Finland. Hjalmar Procope's activities in behalf of Hitler and his Finnish ally will some day make tragic reading in the history of espionage which operated right under J. Edgar Hoover's nose. An obscure item in the press last week reported that almost on the very day that Americans were mourning Pearl Harbor, the Japanese envoy to Helsinki decorated Finland's president, Risto Ryti, with the Grand Cross of the Great Order of the Chrysanthemum. Mannerheim was presented with the Knight's Order of the Rising Sun which he must be wearing next to the medal Hitler gave him several months ago. Twenty thousand Red Army prisoners were starved to death in Finnish camps. Still State Department policy is such as to encourage anti-Soviet circles to dream of the day when Finland will be a bridgehead for attacks against the USSR.

Darlanism is the secret weapon forged to block offensive operations into Europe, to dismember the Allied coalition, to set the stage for a new batch of criminals to replace the old. Only by constant pressure and vigilance will the country prevent the frustration of the President's war policies and the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Labor Moves Toward Unity

A BATTLE in this war was won last week which received relatively scant attention in the nation's press, yet it merited headlines. This was the agreement reached by the AFL and CIO to set up joint machinery to settle jurisdictional disputes. Important in itself, it is rendered doubly so by being the first stage in the process toward organic unity of both great labor federations.

Labor, millions understand, is the keystone in the arch of national unity. That keystone will be rendered infinitely more durable if labor unity is achieved. And workingmen have come to that conclusion. The 11,000,000 men carrying AFL and CIO union cards realize today that their combined strengths will add up to much more than the sum of their present two divisions. This became apparent to them

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since Pearl Harbor. AFL and CIO workingmen have engaged in ever more frequent joint actions. If it be true in sporadic instances, why should it not be rendered permanent? This logic was evident in the two recent conventions of the great labor bodies; their resolutions argued for unity. Last week's agreement went a long way toward making resolutions a reality.

That is as it should be, for despite some differences in policies developed by both conventions, the main line was identical—to prosecute the war energetically until victory is certain. If the fundamental goal is the same, why permit outworn prejudices and practices to divide?

Under the agreement's provisions, jurisdictional disputes will be submitted by national labor organizations to a joint AFL-CIO committee. In event that committee fails to agree, it will select a "disinterested arbiter" to make a decision. If an arbitrator cannot be agreed on within five days the President will be asked to name an arbitrator himself. This agreement is to "remain in effect until labor unity is effected."

The conference recessed until later this month when other problems of mutual concern will be discussed. Friends of labor hope that the conferees will give full attention to the proposal of the CIO convention that complete unity need not wait upon full settlement of all jurisdictional disputes between the two bodies.

Full Speed Ahead

ONE year after Pearl Harbor we are at long last beginning to move in the direction of centralized control of our war economy. An executive order issued by President Roosevelt ends the division and conflict that have existed in regard to manpower by transferring the Selective Service System to the War Manpower Commission and placing a civilian, Paul V. McNutt, in charge of the mobilization and allocation of manpower for the armed forces, industry, and agriculture.

The President has also acted to centralize authority over the production and distribution of food by an executive order making Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard Food Administrator with "full responsibility for and control over the nation's food program." This includes control over food rationing, Secretary Wickard acting in this phase of his work through the Office of Price Administration. The executive orders provide that Mr. McNutt is to be an ex-officio member of the Economic Stabilization Board, while Secretary Wickard becomes a member of the War Production Board.

These steps, essential as they are, still are on the periphery of the problem. Sobering facts have just come to light regarding the production situation that point up the urgency of centralized control and planning of our entire war economy. There has been a good deal of heady talk about our 350 percent production increase since Pearl Harbor without sufficient consideration of war *needs* and production *trends*. In its report on the anniversary of Pearl Harbor the Office of War Information pointed out that we must increase the output of arms by two-thirds during the next year. The fact is, however, that if the present trend continues, we won't even come close to that goal. Donald Nelson has just made public figures which show a steady *decline* in the *rate of increase* since June. In June our production increased twelve percent; July, ten percent; August, eight percent; September, four percent; and October, three percent. Even should this decline be arrested and the rate of three percent increase per month continue, it would mean that a year from today war production would have risen only thirty-six percent instead of the necessary two-thirds. According to the OWI, we have already fallen short of the goals set by the President last January in planes, tanks, and anti-aircraft guns.

The "all-out mobilization and centralized direction" which Mr. Nelson has urged is as yet non-existent. The agreement that was supposed to have ironed out the conflict between the WPB and the armed services over control of production has left matters pretty much as they were, with the procurement divisions of the Army and Navy in actual control. A unified approach not only to war production, but to our entire economy is overdue. The proposals contained in the Tolan-Kilgore-Pepper bills for centralized planned control of every aspect of our war economy under an Office of War Mobilization are just what the doctor ordered if we are to utilize to the full the great productive capacities of the American people. Indispensable too are the revitalization and extension of the labor-management production committees and the inclusion of labor representatives in all the directing agencies of the war program.

"Native Son" Won't Close

AS WE go to press word arrives that *Native Son,* the magnificent drama of Negro life by Richard Wright and Paul Green, will not be removed from the stage. Only the day before Lee Shubert, owner of the theater, had said he would close the play the end of this week. He was taking this action, he was reported to have said, to avoid "trouble." Obviously pressures were operating against the continuation of this play—perhaps the only one which had ever reached Broadway with so frank an exposition of the Negro question. These pressures were largely from reactionary Catholic sources who presume to speak in the name of Catholic millions.

"Public opinion," Mr. Shubert now admits, is responsible for reversing his plan and for getting the play back on the boards. Much credit is due the League of New York Theaters, the Dramatists Guild, Actors Equity, and other theater organizations who swept into action upon news of the closing. The popular protest which they organized frustrated the attempt to drive progressive drama from the New York stage.

The machinations in the film and theater world of those who sought to ban *Native Son* serve to create and intensify frictions at a time when unity is an essential need of the country. To appease them is dangerous. Freedom cannot be won by "avoiding trouble"—that is, by avoiding the fight for freedom.

GOP Dark Horse

WHILE the rest of the country was remembering Pearl Harbor, the isolated gentlemen of the Republican National Committee delivered from one of its inner stalls a dark horse called "compromise." Harrison E. Spangler, the newly elected chairman from Iowa, came through on the third ballot after a Mr. Baker, about whom nothing is known, deadlocked with Werner Schroeder, about whom enough was known to keep him from completely nauseating millions of Republican voters. Schroeder is the Tom Thumb in the tight grip of defeatist publisher McCormick and Senators Taft and Brooks.

Spangler's election was hardly a setback for the Republican appeasers. In 1940 he supported the ineffable Taft for the Presidency. And in thanking the boys who put him at the helm of the national committee, Spangler, in full hunting regalia, said, "You are doing what you can to help this country defeat the New Deal. I started after that animal in 1932, and I hope in 1944 to be there at the kill."

The pro-war Republicans might have taken last week's meeting as the opportunity to purge their leadership of obstructionism and appeasement. Senator Taft, whose essentially defeatist outlook dominates the Republican National Committee, after plugging for Schroeder, found it easy to accept Spangler. In the back rooms this is called harmony. Undoubtedly Wendell Willkie's pressure helped defeat Schroeder. That is a feather in his political cap. But it is a long way from installing the Willkie forces who are devoted to winning the war decisively and speedily.

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VICTORY—AND AFTER

Harry F. Ward, in a review of Earl Browder's book, discusses the ideas and questions it raises. A "challenge to continuous action."

VICTORY—AND AFTER, by Earl Browder. International *Publishers. $2. Popular edition 50c.*

IT IS impossible in a short article to discuss adequately Earl Browder's book *Victory —and After.* It covers too much ground for that, deals with too many crucial issues, opens too many enticing vistas. This is some indication of its weight and worth. Consequently, all that can be attempted here is to assess briefly its challenge to the thinking and action of the American people and to mention some questions which it raises.

A distinctive characteristic of the book is that it bases its judgments upon what needs to be done, and can be done, to win the war, upon an analysis of the movement and relationship of social, economic, and political forces, not upon pre-conceived ideas. Browder says this makes the book quite unorthodox. It does for those who have turned a dynamic theory of method into a paralyzing dogma. As a matter of fact, a theory of method designed to guide action toward chosen goals in a continuously changing world permits no orthodoxy. It requires the continuous adjustment of thought to action and of both to the movement of events. This is a technical formulation of the common sense way of doing things. It says there is a job that must be done. What tools and materials have we got to do it with? How can these be used most effectively?

The job is the winning of the war, now and afterward—the biggest undertaking of its kind in history. The available tools are our economic resources and political machinery and all the people, all over the world, for whom the winning of the war is the supreme need. The conditions of victory are the welding of all the available people into the maximum possible unity and whatever economic changes are necessary, within this limit, to secure maximum production. How these things may be done is the core of the book, and it is fashioned around the author's extended political experience and his personal knowledge of the forces which are now on the move in all the continents and the islands of the seas in another stage of that long historic march which our Vice-President has called "the people's revolution."

The book gains in significance because it is the expression of the viewpoint of the Communist Party of the United States. It is of the highest importance that this material should be available at first hand to the reading public because of the sinister part the propaganda-created "menace of Communism" has played, is playing, and will seek to play in the war and in the postwar situation. The creation of the "menace of Communism" is one of the major tasks of the fifth column which Browder identifies as Hitler's secret weapon. If this book could be as widely read and discussed on its merits as it deserves to be, Hitler would meet another defeat, the war would be accordingly shortened, and the prospect for the extension of democracy after the war become much brighter.

THE major part of the book is given to the task of achieving that unity within the nation and united action among the nations which is the condition of victory now and afterward. This is recognized as a part of the war. It is, because the war, besides being global in its extent, is also a struggle over the nature and form of the world of tomorrow. National unity should exist naturally in a nation attacked as we were. It does not because a part of the enemy is within our gates. These forces have for the most part successfully concealed their identity and their purpose from the people. Browder identifies them and outlines the measures necessary for their defeat. These constitute a combined strategy of counter-offensive against the fifth column, and the winning of its potential supporters by political reconstruction and economic compromise. It follows that the war has to be fought as hard and as aggressively here as on any other sector.

Earl Browder

To underestimate the enemy is to court disaster. To delay the offensive too long is to invite defeat. To hesitate to attack the forces of disunity for fear of hindering unity is merely to give the fifth column time to accomplish its deadly work.

The defeat of the shock-troops of our fifth column, the native fascists for whom Dies is mouthpiece and instrument, is to be accomplished through a continuous barrage of facts, of which this book offers some brilliant examples. This should be aimed at extending the prosecution for treasonable activities which has already been brought against the lesser fry, and next at convincing the honest but confused isolationists and the religious idealists, who are Hitler's last potential forces to be moved into action in support of his last desperate move for an appeasement peace.

The political reconstruction to which this book challenges the nation as a necessity for the achievement of effective unity is buttressed by a keen analysis of the situation in our political parties. This is done with a tolerance, a humility, and a quiet humor which puts the author head and shoulders above his persecutors, and should shame the editors and writers in liberal journals who still carry on a sniping campaign against the Communist Party with petty slanders instead of meeting its challenge squarely. The first task on the political front is the elimination from both major parties of the reactionary elements which now unite to sabotage the war effort and to nullify the principles of the Atlantic Charter. This requires complete rejection of "politics-as-usual," that is, politics for party profit, and for partisan action, by organized labor, the organized farmers, and other voters. It calls for the continued emergence of local political groups like the American Labor Party and the Washington Commonwealth Federation. That the regrouping of our political forces on the basis of present-day issues, which is long overdue, will be hastened by the fact that neither of our major parties is able to function adequately for the winning of the war cannot be doubted. If the war should end before this realignment is accomplished, its development will nevertheless proceed, since the need for it in the post-war world will be just as imperative.

A still more difficult section of the job of achieving unity is the securing of the necessary compromise between class interests. The book bases its strategy of compromise upon the indubitable foundation that "national unity in the United States is above

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all a problem of adjusting *class interests* without the severe struggles by which this has usually been accomplished." Of course the class struggle cannot be suspended by anybody, since it is inherent in capitalist society. But history shows that it can be modified and therefore it may be prevented from interfering with the winning of the war. The Communist Party pledges itself to this endeavor and underwrites its pledge by declaring that it will subordinate its most distinctive demand, "the advocacy of socialism for our country, to the common patriotic goal of victory. We declare that we will not bring forward our socialistic proposals in any way which could undermine or weaken the national unity." It should be noticed that this pledge does not deprive them of the right to bring forward any such proposals that are judged necessary to the strengthening of national unity.

Victory—and After finds the basis and the criterion for the sacrifices which all classes need to make in the interests of victory in the seven-point program which Roosevelt submitted to Congress on April 27, 1942. This program has been popularized under the slogan "Equality of Sacrifice." The Communist Party knows that in this situation there can be no actual equality of sacrifice, that in capitalist society any economic compromise bears more heavily upon workers of all sorts, than upon property owners and coupon clippers, a situation to which this group has long been accustomed, and the record shows what it is willing to do to win the war. With the rich the strategy of compromise has to trust to patriotism, intelligence, and fear of Hitler. The latter will vanish with the approach to victory, and there is a strong section in which the two former do not exist. For the irreconcilable minority there remains democratic compulsion.

The strategy of compromise, as Browder fully recognizes, is both difficult and dangerous. It can be successful only if the income concessions made to the personal habits and customs of the rich are not too great to affect the morale of the workers, and if they are not permitted to strengthen their position against needed postwar changes by increased control of capital. These points are guarded by the proposal to take for war needs all profits above the maximum income of $25,000 net and again by the declaration of no compromise with "business-as-usual." So far as the present records show, the sabotage of the battle of production by Big Business has not been considerable at the point of profiteering. It has been mainly due to conduct imposed by the habits and demands of "business-as-usual." Here is where the strongest resistance of our present economy to the changes necessary for maximum war production is met; here is where the battle has to be fought to a finish.

Another major point at which compromise is ruled out is the race question, including anti-Semitism. Speaking of the fight against the doctrine of white supremacy and

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s practices, the book says, "This is not something that can be postponed in the interests of national unity for victory, for this is of the very essence of democracy and the remedy of these profound abuses, *a pre-condition for victory.*" The point is made that a majority of the population of the United Nations which are warring together against "the revolting Hitlerite denial of human brotherhood" are of the "colored races." Yet the attempt to remove race discrimination in the war enterprise has produced such a resurgence of white supremacy fanaticism in the deep South that here again we have on our hands a fight to a finish.

Victory—and After discusses the job to be done in making the United Nations an effective international instrument in terms of its challenge to the American people to revise "some of our national habits of thinking about national interests." This means that we must abandon the attitude of national superiority and act in terms of agreements among equals. Anyone who has listened to a group of college professors or preachers talking about how we with our high ideals are going to run the world after the war will know the danger we are in at this point. Browder rejects a cynical attitude to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. He credits its framers and signers with sincerity, but he reminds us that good intentions without a concrete program lead only to hell. If that happens this time it will be a very deep hell from which the world will be a long time getting out. The danger is not insincerity but, as it was last time, inability to carry out promises, due to the strength of economic interests and lack of preparation. Therefore, the urgent need is to make the United Nations now a functioning organism, as Chiang Kai-shek and T. V. Soong have just requested.

There are immediate tasks to be undertaken. The political arrangements in North Africa sound an urgent warning. Eden has just told the House of Commons that all postwar plans depend upon the continuance of the United Nations. Divergent interests and divisive forces have every opportunity to win unless united work is started now on the issues of occupied countries, boundaries, food, and reconstruction. Yet on the sixteen boards of joint planning for war supplies, where preparation for some of these problems should be made, Latin America is represented on only three and the Soviet Union and China on none. The joint strategy planning boards are purely sectional, except for the combined Anglo-American chiefs of staff, and the Soviet Union appears in none of them. This situation generates and spreads distrust and fear of Anglo-American domination. It calls for an immediate and irresistible demand in those two nations for a supreme council of strategy composed of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, with a subdivision on questions concerning occupied territory, and the rest of the United Nations called into that discussion as

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soon as the general procedures are formulated.

The two chapters of this book that deal with the economics of war present its biggest challenge. Since they have been printed in this magazine it is necessary only to emphasize their central point. If Browder's rejection of the present compromise between the old economy of limited demand and the necessary new war economy of unlimited demand and maximum production is not translated into public policy, the result will not only be that we continue to get "all the defects of both and the virtues of neither." In addition, the disgust of the people will lead them to reject the whole principle of democratic planning and throw them into the hands of those who will establish fascistic regimentation under the slogan of preserving free enterprise. The only alternative to the present inefficient and dangerous compromise is presented in the finding of the Tolan committee, that "every phase of our economic life must be planned, must be guided, must be brought under central administrative control. . . ." Unquestionably Browder is right in his contention that if our entire economy, including our total consumption and all distribution, were to be devoted to war purposes, it would make priorities and rationing as now practiced unnecessary and avoid inflation. Yet the President has declined to accept even central control of production.

As Browder says, we have to change our mental pattern from one of market relationships and money symbols to one of the correct use of labor materials and plant for the necessary ends. Then this has to be implemented by a state strong enough to overcome the resistance of "business-as-usual." This means, as Browder says, not socialism but state capitalism. It will not secure maximum production, for that is technically impossible for any form of capitalism. But it can secure enough to win the war, and prevent postwar disaster, if the state is strong enough to take the key points in our economy and put them not under bureaucratic but democratic control. The first step is genuine joint labor-management production committees. How fast and how far we proceed depends upon how much the education of experience as to what can and cannot be done under a capitalist economy is speeded by those who know its technical incapacity.

The final chapter on the postwar world is all too brief. It presents only two points. The first is that the character of the postwar world depends upon the extension of the United Nations war collaboration to deal collectively with the problems of economic and political reconstruction of the world. This, as we have seen, depends upon the ability to make that collaboration active and inclusive now. The other point raised is the domestic problem of transition from a war economy to a peace economy. This is to be solved by demanding maximum economic production for the peacetime needs of the population, and presumably securing it by the extension of the state capitalism set up for

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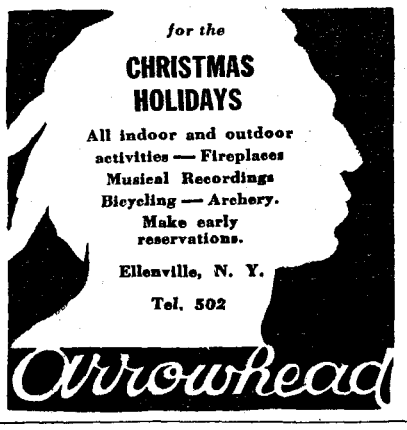

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:uring maximum war production, provided ıat has been done. After the last war all controls of wartime production and transportation were scrapped. This time the pressure of the alternative of complete chaos will be felt. But it will lead in the direction of dictatorship unless the machinery is at hand to meet consumers' needs by maximum possible production. This is the answer to the question of what will happen if we win the war with less than the maximum production possible under a centrally planned and controlled economy operating under the limits of capitalist ownership and claims to income. Win thus we will if Hitler's oil gives out, and may by superior morale or strategy.

This last chapter needs to be enlarged for all future printings and certainly for the readers of this magazine. The rapid development of events since this book was written has put certain postwar issues on today's agenda so that even our columnists and commentators are beginning to recognize that the pattern of war and the pattern of peace are one. This calls not for blueprints but certainly for the outline of main procedures. There is further need for a discussion of the postwar plans of the administration as outlined in Sumner Welles' Memorial Day speech (with which those in Herbert Hoover's book must be compared), and also the postwar economic plans of our National Resources Planning Board.

Then I should like to see it draw together the points in the whole book at which present and postwar needs fall into one pattern. Also the points at which the author may be misunderstood and misquoted because only part of his thought is presented while the rest appears somewhere else. For instance, the relation, in his confidence that what he outlines will be done, between the necessity of winning the war and the longer necessity of realizing the common ideals toward which the human race has for ages struggled.

These questions and this request for further discussion arise out of the basic method of the book. And this is, let me emphasize again, its most distinctive characteristic. It calls for continuous analysis of the moving scene, it challenges the reader to continuous action to meet every necessity of the developing war situation. HARRY F. WARD.

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For purposes of his narrative Mr. Steinbeck follows a typical candidate for each of the categories of soldier who make up a bomber's crew. They are of all classes and all previous professions, and from all sections of the country. In *Bombs Away* they are a soda-jerk, a garage mechanic, a farmer, a chain-store clerk (who was a radio "ham" in his spare time), a student with a degree in civil engineering, and a band leader.

It is too bad, in a way, that Steinbeck did not choose to personalize these boys more than he did—in the way he could have, as a novelist. For they are sketched in a most perfunctory manner, and if they had been developed into real characters the impact of the book would have been greater; not only for purposes of information, but also for the stimulation of real excitement about the bomber crew, the role it is playing in the war.

Also it is impossible not to challenge such statements as: "Of all the nations of the world, only Germany knew what it was going to do and where it was going with its aircraft. Germany and the dark Aryans of Italy and the yellow Aryans of Japan developed air forces." Or this one: "This crew gathered from so many places, from so many different backgrounds, was a crew now, molded and trained to do a job. They had no patriotic sentiments. Those were for politicians. They were workmen, specialists."

Yet, for the half-personalized (and highly accurate) information *Bombs Away* imparts to its readers, it will be useful. It will clear away much misinformation about the nature of combat flying, and reassure those who have been misled about the quality of our materiel —both human and machine. You will gain confidence from *Bombs Away*; confidence that our men know what they are about; that they have training and machines that are the equal of any in the world.

All proceeds from the book have been assigned by the author to the Air Forces Aid Society Trust Fund. ALVAH BESSIE.

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REAL BOY MEETS REAL GIRL

An old film formula gets a new treatment in the Soviet movie "Mashenka." . . . Hollywood's "Casablanca" is "a promising beginning for the second year of war films." Reviewed by Joy Davidman.

"MASHENKA," the new Soviet film at the Stanley, is, if you like, a formula picture. That is, it tells how Boy Meets Girl. Now Boy Meets Girl, more than any other possible plot, is so invariably reduced to formula on the screen that most of us have forgotten it could ever be anything else. Nevertheless Boy does meet Girl in real life, and neither of them is conscious of reenacting a stereotype; while young love on the stage and screen need be no more hackneyed and unnatural than life itself. *Romeo and Juliet* is not a formula play. Neither, in its much smaller and gentler way, is *Mashenka* a formula picture, if you stop to consider its emotional truthfulness.

Reviewers on the daily papers have commented on the singular freshness and sweetness which *Mashenka* brought to its familiar material, ascribing those qualities to the charming performances of Kuznetsov and Karavayeva as Boy and Girl. The actors have contributed much, it is true; but the real freshness of *Mashenka* is in its characters' normal and healthy attitude toward love. Boy meets Girl when Girl, as an air raid warden, loads him on a stretcher during a pre-war practice air raid. At this point, according to the stereotype, Girl should pretend dislike, and Boy be amorous to the point of offensiveness—thus maintaining the fiction of the pursuing male and fleeing female which is inseparable from the economic subjection of woman. But Mashenka is not subjected. Her liking for Alyosha expresses itself with a frankness which seems almost naive to those accustomed to the hard and sharp bargaining which passes for courtship in some circles.

Similarly when Alyosha stands Mashenka up on a date, the formula would call for Mashenka to register "injured pride," refuse to see him again, and display a certain amount of bad manners. Instead she quite simply and sensibly goes to find out what's happened to him. Finding him sick, she settles down to nursing him. Now Alyosha, after the manner of boys, has boasted of his achievements, claiming to be an engineering student and to have read Marx. Penitent, he confesses; he's no student, and he hasn't read Marx either. Does the lady seize the opportunity to stand on her dignity and play hard-to-get? Not at all; she smiles at him with greater tenderness, which is exactly what a real girl would do unless she were an unpleasant neurotic.

Thus the film continues, its plot much the same as any young love story, but its characters behaving with human understanding instead of the imbecile spitefulness required by the formula. (This viciousness, it must be explained, is not written into formula plots because of any viciousness in their authors, but merely to provide the Boy Loses Girl sequences which form the middle of the film.) *Mashenka* does differ in plot from the average young-love film in one important respect; intertwined with its story is the enormous ambition of Soviet youth for self-improvement. Alyosha picks up his engineering studies and goes ahead with them; Mashenka works late into the night, studying to be a nurse.

Hollywood films now and then catch something of the freshness of young love; but often its charm is sacrificed to Mickey Rooney clownishness, to sexual suggestiveness, to the fanfare with which some infant ingenue receives her "first screen kiss." A vague notion that adolescents are ridiculous is too frequently allowed to bias our handling of them in entertainment as in life, where we bar them from responsible parts in community effort. *Mashenka* reflects the fact that Soviet adolescents are serious and responsible citizens equally with their elders.

It should be added that the charm of *Mashenka* is enhanced not only by its engaging hero and heroine but also by photography of almost wistful loveliness and by the admirable music of Glazunov.

On the same program are some noteworthy short subjects, especially scenes of actual fighting around Stalingrad along the Don, and the 1941 Moscow Folk Dance Festival. This short, with narration by Erskine Caldwell, reproduces dances from all over the Soviet Union, as they were performed in Moscow while the Nazis were practically at the gate.

NO PAINS were spared to make *Casablanca* a great war film. A serious understanding of the people's war, an intensely dramatic story, vivid direction, and an inspired cast were combined in what should have added up to a masterpiece. That they did not is due to the same old reason; the producers *would* have all this and a love story too.

It is a pretty good love story, adult, restrained, and tender; it supplies plenty of opportunities for touching sacrifice; it gives

The Czech anti-fascist fighter offers a toast to the re-birth of France. A scene from "Casablanca."

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Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman an opening for some splendidly passionate embraces. They are good actors, and they keep it dignified. Nevertheless, as Mr. Bogart himself sums it up in the picture, the affairs of three little people are pretty trivial stuff in the face of a world in flames. One is tempted to ask why, knowing this, the producers devoted two-thirds of *Casablanca* to them.

The remaining third is powerful stuff. A tigerishly polite Nazi major, a corrupt and self-despising Vichy official, and a passionate lion of a Czech revolutionary create a far more dramatic triangle than any love story. The Czech has escaped from concentration camps, printed illegal newspapers, led underground movements everywhere. He must not be allowed to campaign in America, where he is already a legendary hero; neither must he be allowed to remain in Casablanca, where his very presence rouses the resentful French to demonstrate against the Nazis. So says the Nazi to the Vichyman; and the Vichyman, for a long while, wants only to stay on the bandwagon and take no chances. The situation is further complicated by the presence of an American—Mr. Bogart—who has fought for the Spanish loyalists, helped the Ethiopians, smoothed the path of refugees; but who insists that he no longer wants to do anything but save his skin.

The possibilities of heroic political drama in this are obvious. But the producers have taken the line of least resistance. Their underground leader attends both a political meeting and a night club; they have chosen merely to mention the meeting while showing the night club in detail, no doubt being there on more familiar ground. Thus the only political action possible becomes the old device of having a few Nazis, singing *"Die Wacht am Rhine,"* drowned out by defiant singing of the *"Marseillaise"* by the French patrons of the club, led by the Czech. It is beautifully done; it lifts your morale enormously, brings tears to your eyes. But it simplifies the problem of resistance to a child's game. Similarly all we see of Casablanca the town is one stock shot of an Oriental or African street and the interior of Rick's night club. The issues involved—underground struggle, the agonies of refugees—become unreal in this manicured studio setting.

What the writing and producing throw away, however, the actors almost succeed in saving. At least two of them, Paul Henreid and Conrad Veidt, are themselves refugees from fascism, and that may explain their power of transcending their material. At any rate, Mr. Henreid portrays the most believable underground leader we have seen on the screen. His restrained intensity is admirably matched against Conrad Veidt's quiet snarl as the Nazi, against the purring cynicism of Claude Rains as the Vichyman. Lesser roles are equally brilliantly filled by Peter Lorre, Sidney Greenstreet, and others; and if there had to be a love story, it was wise to entrust it to Mr. Bogart and the incomparable Bergman. *Casablanca* is, at any rate, a promising

beginning for the second year of war films; a little more vigorous ringing out of the old, and the movies will be ringing in the new with a will.

"THE AVENGERS" has brilliant action-shots to recommend it; and that is that. There is a lively air raid; still better, there is a Commando raid based upon the actual pictures from Norway. A story is loosely stitched together to connect these, involving a slick young London newspaperman, a pretty Norwegian blonde, a lot of fishermen, and the local quisling of the fjord. It seems years since two young lovers, about to face the firing squad, were saved by the US Cavalry or, alternatively, the landing of Marines. But *The Avengers* resurrects the scene. Tableau: she's weeping in his arms, the Nazis advance to drag them forth. Outside a cry, conveniently in English: "The Commandos have landed!" The blonde is preserved for better things.

Such a film must be criticized as more than entertainment, for it is dedicated to Norway as *One of Our Aircraft Is Missing*, a far better British piece, is dedicated to Holland. Thus it has a semi-official flavor which makes it still harder to take. Its portrayal of the fighting Norwegians is stiff and quaint; its portrayal of the English is plain silly—the newspaperman simpers, the Admiralty man drawls. Its most serious thought, a definition in plain words of the peril of fascism, is spoiled by allowing Ralph Richardson to pop his eyes grotesquely while uttering it.

IF WE are going to escape in the movies, by all means let's do it on a broomstick. There has never been any objection to movie fantasy that honestly admitted it was fantasy; the poisonous stuff is fantasy pretending to be real life, and consequently confusing our perception of reality. No one, however, would ever take *I Married a Witch* for anything but a ribald Thorne Smith fairytale; and it quite a nice one.

The witch Jennifer, escaping from an oak that has imprisoned her for centuries, combines some very unorthodox magic with extremely orthodox femininity. She can do things with fires. She can also do things with Fredric March. The magic is delicately handled, the lovemaking perhaps rather indelicately; but that *I Married a Witch* is reasonably amusing should be proved by the fact that it was the first time this reviewer found herself able to tolerate Veronica Lake.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

"Winter Soldiers"

A new war play with cinema techniques. . . . Warmed-over Rice.

WE HAVE had to wait for an unknown playwright—Dan James—to give us the first play this season which reveals considerable understanding of the people's content of the war. It is unfortunate that *Winter Soldiers* was not produced on Broadway where it might conceivably have had an audience of many thousands; instead it appeared at the New School for Social Research, for a limited engagement.

Mr. James is a screen writer (he worked with Chaplin on *The Great Dictator*) and he has transferred to the stage of the New School certain highly effective cinema techniques. In fact, it is not disparaging to his effort to say that it is more of a scenario than it is a play. Because the scenario form itself can be dramatic and solidly founded in good theatrical values.

The Winter Soldiers of the play are the anonymous guerrilla fighters of occupied Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, and the Soviet Union, as well as the Red Army. The playwright has exhibited for the first time on our stage something of the understanding that animates these people in their struggle against Nazism. Mr. James shows them as human beings of many types. They have their doubts, their misgivings, their fears. They are Catholics, Communists, onetime pacifists, intellectuals, and workers, joined in international solidarity for a common purpose —the destruction of Nazi oppression.

The plot line of the play is simple: the combined operations of these guerrilla fighters over thousands of miles result in a six-hour delay of Nazi replacements on their way to the Soviet front. The delay assists the victorious Soviet counter-attack at Moscow in November 1941. That is all. But the fragmentary scenes of the drama give us isolated incidents along the way that forge a mighty chain of popular resistance. In Yugoslavia a deaf-mute peasant strangles a Nazi colonel; a pacifist professor calls for resistance, over the short-wave radio. In Vienna a girl prostitutes her body to win over an Austrian soldier who hates the Nazi occupationists—and the trains are delayed. In Czechoslovakia a strike of railroad workers is called; in Poland a

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track is blown apart with dynamite; in the Soviet Union a collective farm is burned down and replacement troops are ambushed; in the Soviet lines a commissar tells his men the story of Thermopylae.

Despite the virtues of the cinema technique, Mr. James has not quite unified the whole. The play is still too episodic; too chaotic and too frequently static. It stops for long moments at a time; then it moves on to magnificent action that is both melodrama and valid drama. Notable are the scenes in Czechoslovakia where the trade union leader calls the four-hour strike; in the Polish railroad station where the tracks are blown; in the German staff headquarters where the Nazi generals are frustrated by the "impossible" fact that the Red Army is counter-attacking despite Nazi superiority in tanks and aircraft.

While the episodic quality of the play is a minor weakness that could be repaired by adroit editing (which would also lift the second act to a higher plane than the first), there are two major political flaws of characterization. One is the conception of the Soviet guerrilla fighter Grigori, who is made a vaudeville figure instead of the Soviet peasant that we have come to know in this war. Part of this, it seems to me, is the author's fault; part the fault of the production.

Then there is the characterization of Tieck, the Gestapo agent. Here is a representative of the most hated institution in the world; the most conscious, steeled, and determined enemy of the people anywhere in the world today. As written by Mr. James (and played by the accomplished actor Herbert Berghof) this character literally runs away with the play. He is utterly charming, philosophical, and amusing; and you gather that he is delighted by the frustration of the Nazi General Staff, which is a peculiar way for a Gestapo agent to behave, to say the least.

With these shortcomings rectified; with the production tightened and performed by actors far above the general competence of the New School Studio players, we could have a play that would attract large audiences. It would consciously instruct those audiences (and move them) in the reasons for underground resistance; the nature of that resistance; the meaning of the United Nations. For *Winter Soldiers* possesses values apparent in no other play on the boards today and it should not be permitted to hide its glowing light.

Shepard Traube has done a good job with the acting material he had at hand; with the cinematic technique the author gave him. Especial credit should go to the aforementioned Mr. Berghof, who could make his Gestapo agent as hated (though believable) as he now makes him delightful and sympathetic; to Fred Lorenz for his Nazi railroad commissioner; to Boris Marshalov for his Polish peasant; to Paula Bauersmith and David Alexander.

You will waste no time if you see *Winter Soldiers;* if you urge the author, producer, and director to tighten the script, shift some of its values, and find a professional production for it. It could be a major contribution to our war.

ALVAH BESSIE.

★

I DON'T know what Elmer Rice's *Counsellor-at-Law* looked like when it first appeared in 1931, but I imagine it has aged very little. Its ingredients are nearly ageless. You have seen them all before, and you will undoubtedly see them again. There is, for example, a secretary hopelessly in love with her boss; there is an unfaithful snob of a wife whose infidelity is not suspected by her husband until the last act. The dramatic conflict is in the counsellor-at-law himself. It is a conflict in which his old Second Avenue loyalties and humanities battle with the fashionable, frozen values of his wife's world, and his sympathy for the kicked-around nearly gets him disbarred at the hands of rival lawyers.

But I make it sound too serious. Mr. Rice, after all, has provided us with a comedy—and comedy it is. The counsellor, who has tried to throw himself out the window when his wife deserts him, comes exultantly alive a few minutes later when he gets the chance to defend the son of a steel baron who has just shot *his* wife dead. He averts the threatened disbarment (for faking an alibi to help a youthful offender) by a neat, hilarious piece of blackmail. All this is enacted with a smoothness, a balance, and a suspense that leave you no time for reflecting on the age of old ingredients. For that matter, the ingredients themselves have been freshened in the acting and direction. Paul Muni as the successful (and sometimes shyster) lawyer is volatile, vigorous, warm—and plausible. Mr. Rice's remarkable ear for speech, plus some excellent performances (notably Jennie Moscowitz' as the counsellor's mother) add a flavor that is pleasant and sometimes exhilarating. The only jarring archaic touch is the playwright's robot, sloganized Communist—and even he is allowed to tell the counsellor off with some truths that silence the laughter in the audience. All in all, warmed-over Rice is tastier than most of the off-the-griddle Broadway productions of this season.

B. G.

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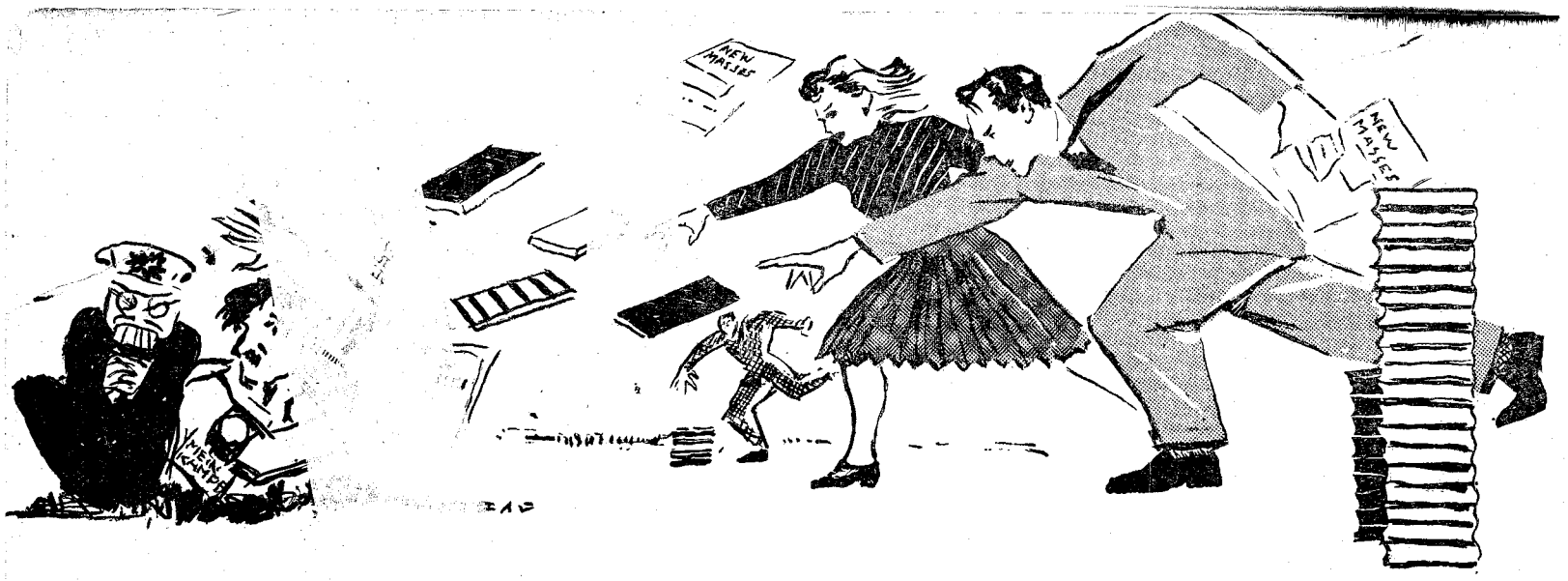

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